

Managing Work Motivation In Fiji

Eci Kikau Nabalarua

**A thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Australian National University**

February 1998

***To the memory of my parents Ratu and Nau and to my
eldest brother Ratu Etuate Tuivanuavou who would
have been immensely proud of this achievement***

Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work

Eci Kikau Nabalarua

Eci Kikau Nabalarua
February 1998

Acknowledgements

The completion of this doctoral thesis has been possible through the immeasurable level of professional and personal support that have been unconditionally rendered to me as I strove to see the light at the end of the tunnel. At the outset I give thanks to God for my being and to whom I return the acknowledgement of this achievement. For the opportunity to enhance my academic expertise I am grateful to my employer, The University of the South Pacific for the training award to pursue doctoral studies in Australia, and to the Fiji Government through the Ministry of Fijian Affairs who provided much needed financial support during the crucial final year of thesis writing.

At the Australian National University, and in particular at the National Centre for Development Studies, I am especially indebted to my supervisor Dr Michael Hess for his invaluable support and guidance throughout the four years of scholarship. To my advisers Professor Donald Denoon and Dr Peter Larmour I am grateful for the unrestricted access to the many consultations and insightful comments. In the performance of student representative duties I wish to acknowledge Jennie Colman for efficient administrative support in my short stint as the Phd student coordinator at the Annex, Maurette Macleod, program administrator for Development Administration for putting up with endless student queries, Alison Cumming Thom for the coffee breaks and Dr Pamela Thomas at the Australian Development Studies Network in the Centre for the confidence in getting me to participate in different development initiatives and from which I have gained considerable strides in my own professional growth. For the final overhaul of this thesis I would like to thank Miliakere Kaitani for her assistance in formatting, and to Maree Tait for editorial services rendered.

In the context of the wider ANU community I would like to thank Greg Fry in International Relations for the many exchanges on common Pacific interests, Loraine Lewis at the Graduate Students Office who ensured that a computer was always available, and Annie Bartlett in the Study Skills Centre whose friendship and academic support I could not have managed without. To the many colleagues who have at one time or other passed through the Phd Annex at the Centre and with whom I have had the pleasure of being acquainted, I am grateful for the peer support that helped to shape the

initial ideas for research. Among the Fijian community in Canberra whose friendship made Hughes a home away from home, I am particularly grateful for the kindred support offered by Glen Ah Sam, Frank Whippy, Biu Grove and Greg Richards for being with my family through thick and thin during my period of study here.

In Fiji I am indebted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for granting access to conduct fieldwork in the aviation industry, senior personnel at the Public Service Commission and the Ministry for Employment and Industrial Relations for interviews at such short notice, the Fiji Employers Federation for valuable insights into labour-management relationships, Alifereti Malo at ATS, Jone Koroitamana, Timoci Tuisawau, Jayant Prakash, Permal Naidu, Bale Raikoso and Salote Kamakorewa at CAAF, and at the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism, Nemani Buresova, Paula Ramasima and Jona Sevuka who handled logistics of liaising with ATS and CAAF. At USP I am particularly grateful to Professor Nii Plange for advice and moral support, Dr Kesaia Seniloli who provided me with a research assistant for data input, staff at the USP Computer Centre for codifying questionnaires, and Lilieta Naiveli for typing services while in the field

At a personal level the unwavering support of my family has been a strong motivator and to this end I would particularly like to thank my husband and friend Nemani Nabalarua and my children Henry Qiodravu, Akanisi Cea and Eleni Saiki Georgia for putting up with the pressures of Phd work and for understanding the times when their much needed motherly love was not always available. The art of managing one's interests at home while studying abroad has been made possible through the tremendous support of Susana Evening and for this I am extremely fortunate as it has helped in my own focus. To the Kikau families, members of my extended family, the many Christian friends, and in particular to the women of Tailevu Province who farewelled me with a church service on a Sunday afternoon four years ago the prayers and thoughts of good wishes have indeed been felt all the way in Canberra, and for this I am indebted to all their support.

The completion of this study has been no mean feat and while it will be seen as a solo achievement it has really been possible through a combination of individual and group efforts. In the Fijian context this intellectual pursuit would be perceived as an

achievement for the group of which I am proud to be a member and from which I draw strength in the fulfilment of my obligations both now and in the days to come. While due acknowledgement has been made my personal thanks and deep gratitude is reinforced by a humbling essence of the Fijian within.

Vinaka vakalevu.

Abstract

This thesis examines the use and difficulties of work motivation as a strategic management tool for economic development with a particular focus on its application in the workplace of the public sector. Guided by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers' (1960) argument that the level of work commitment is determined by the level of industrialisation, this study argues that Fiji's experience of a British colonialism and a form of British industrialism has given rise to a benevolent work culture and an acquiescent workforce. This in turn has influenced the capacities of public management systems from effectively maximising motivational potential in the workplace.

The study utilises a conventional research approach in two parts. The first part comprises a literature survey of work motivation reflected in the selected experiences of industrialised and developing market economies. The second part constitutes the case findings of three service agencies in the public sector. The findings of this study reinforced the view that motivation is a generic concept that can be utilised in any organisational form, sector or industry. The influences of exogenous stereotypes relating to age, authority structures, control, consultative processes, ethnicity and gender have impacted on employee behaviour and motivation in many ways, while the particularities of context also confirm that managing human resources will be influenced by the dictates of local necessities. Since work motivation is a universal characteristic of human behaviour, and employee motivation a common manifestation in all organisations, sectoral distinction is not a key obstacle and what this boils down to is the potential to particularise strategies of implementation put into effect.

The conclusion drawn from these findings indicates that while Fijian workplaces comprise employees with a common heritage, employee response to standard aspects of work differ according to the structure of the workplace. However, while a common heritage does not necessarily equate with common employee behaviour, the relativity of these tendencies implies that socio-cultural orientations have an equally important role in the management of local necessities. While productivity is possible and more feasible when the strategies are particularised to each workplace, the challenge for

management systems will lie in dealing with a partially committed workforce for whom the motive to work is not totally money driven.

Contents

Declaration.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Abstract.....	vii
List of Tables.....	xiv
List of Appendices.....	xviii
List of Acronyms.....	xix
1 Introduction.....	1
The Study.....	1
Background to the study.....	3
Significance and aims of the study.....	8
Methodology.....	10
Conceptual framework and central argument.....	11
The study area:Fiji.....	17
Organisation of the thesis.....	20
2 Work motivation in developed market economies.....	22
Introduction.....	22
Growth and the good life:shades of industrialism, Owenism and religion.....	23
All work and no play:the work challenge revisited.....	34
The development of work motivation theory:a critical overview.....	41
1 Content theories of work motivation.....	42
2 Process theories of work motivation.....	47
Reshaping the form:new perspectives in work motivation thinking.....	50
Work motivation in the public sector.....	54
Implications for economic growth in Fiji.....	61
3 Work motivation in developing market economies.....	67
Introduction.....	67
Work and motivation in the pre-industrial state.....	67
Work and motivation in the emergent market-oriented economy.....	74

Contemporary experiences of work motivation in developing market economies.....	83
Work motivation in the public sector: coping with foreign legacies.....	92
Implications for Fiji.....	96
4 Work motivation in Fiji: background to the study context.....	98
Introduction.....	98
Work and economic dualism in Fiji: a living in two worlds.....	98
The colonial years: establishing a work culture.....	101
Independence and beyond: work in the new nation-state.....	115
The post coup years: productivity for economic growth.....	119
Implications of economic dualism for work motivation in Fiji.....	125
5 Data collection and analytical framework.....	131
Introduction.....	131
Reasserting the research question: establishing links.....	131
Choosing case studies and field instruments.....	132
The process of fieldwork	140
Limitations of fieldwork	142
Establishing a framework of analysis.....	144
6 Case Study 1: Air Terminal Services Limited.....	153
Introduction.....	153
Organisational background.....	153
Management at ATS.....	157
Union activity in the workplace.....	162
Employees in the workplace.....	168
A Personal characteristics and socio-economic status of ATS respondents.....	169
1 Age.....	169
2 Ethnicity.....	170
3 Gender.....	172
4 Level of education.....	173
5 Language.....	175
6 Marital status and household composition.....	175
7 Health condition and caring functions.....	177

8 Years at work.....	179
9 Gross weekly income.....	180
B Attitudes and perceptions of employee sample at ATS.....	181
1 Employee response to work in general.....	182
2 Employee response to provisions on the job.....	182
3 Employee response to options for time off.....	185
4 Employee response to changes in the workplace.....	188
5 Employee response to changes in the last twelve months.....	190
6 Employee response to consultative processes.....	192
7 Employee influence on aspects of work.....	195
8 Employee satisfaction with aspects of work.....	197
9 Employee contentment at work.....	199
10 Employee motives to work.....	203
Conclusion.....	205
 7 Case Study 2: Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji.....	208
Introduction.....	208
Organisational background.....	208
Management at CAAF.....	211
Union activity in the workplace.....	219
Employees in the workplace.....	227
A Personal characteristics and socio-economic status of employee sample at CAAF.....	229
1 Age.....	229
2 Ethnicity.....	230
3 Gender.....	232
4 Level of education.....	233
5 Language.....	234
6 Marital status and household composition.....	235
7 Health condition and health care.....	237
8 Years at work.....	238
9 Gross weekly income.....	239
B Attitudes and perceptions of employee sample at CAAF.....	240
1 Employee response to work in general.....	241

2 Employee response to provisions on the job.....	241
3 Employee response to options for time off.....	244
4 Employee response to changes in the workplace.....	247
5 Employee response to changes in the last twelve months.....	249
6 Employee response to consultative processes.....	251
7 Employee influence aspects of work.....	253
8 Employee satisfaction with aspects of work.....	255
9 Employee contentment at work.....	256
10 Employee motives to work.....	262
Conclusion.....	265
8 Case Study 3:Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism.....	267
Introduction.....	267
Organisational background.....	267
Management at DCAT.....	270
Union activity in the workplace.....	275
Employees in the workplace.....	279
A Personal characteristics and socio-economic status of employee sample at DCAT.....	281
1 Age.....	281
2 Ethnicity.....	282
3 Gender.....	284
4 Level of education.....	285
5 Language.....	286
6 Marital status and household composition.....	287
7 Health condition and caring functions.....	288
8 Years at work.....	288
9 Gross weekly income.....	289
B Attitudes and perceptions of employee sample at DCAT.....	291
1 Employee overview of work at DCAT.....	291
2 Employee response to provisions on the job.....	292
3 Employee response to options for time off.....	294
4 Employee response to changes in the workplace.....	297
5 Employee response to changes in the last 12 months.....	299

6 Employee response to consultative processes.....	301
7 Employee influence on aspects of work.....	303
8 Employee satisfaction with aspects of work.....	304
9 Employee contentment at work.....	305
10 Employee response on motives to work at DCAT.....	309
Conclusion.....	312
9 Conclusion.....	314
Main findings.....	316
Future implications.....	335
Implications for future research and policy.....	336
Future of work motivational strategies.....	338
Appendices.....	339
References.....	412

List of Tables

No	Title	Page
Table 5.1	Employee survey sample in the three case agencies	140
Table 5.2	Employee survey sample by occupational grouping and workplace	145
Table 6.1	Employee numbers of the larger job categories in key functional areas at ATS	155
Table 6.2	Management's assessment of employee relations at ATS	160
Table 6.3	Occupational grouping of respondents at ATS	168
Table 6.4	Age categories of respondents at ATS	170
Table 6.5	Ethnic composition of respondents at ATS	170
Table 6.6	Gender breakdown of respondents at ATS	173
Table 6.7	Educational level of respondents at ATS	174
Table 6.8	Living arrangements of respondents at ATS	176
Table 6.9	Years of work among respondents at ATS	179
Table 6.10	Categories of gross weekly income among respondents at ATS	180
Table 6.11	Employee response to provisions on the job at ATS	183
Table 6.12	Options for time off for caring and frequency of actual use in last 12 months among ATS respondents	186
Table 6.13	Options for time off to fulfill social or customary obligations among ATS respondents	187
Table 6.14	Employee response to change in aspects of work at ATS	189
Table 6.15a	Employee overview of change in last twelve months at ATS	190
Table 6.15b	Employee response to changes over last twelve months	191
Table 6.16	Employee response to forms of consultation about changes in the workplace at ATS	193
Table 6.17	Employee response to influence over aspects of work at ATS	195

Table 6.18	Employee satisfaction with aspects of work at ATS	197
Table 6.19a	Employee contentment with aspects of the job at ATS	200
Table 6.19b	Employee contentment with union activities at ATS	201
Table 6.19c	Employee contentment with aspects of management and organisation at ATS	202
Table 6.20	Employee response on the motives to work at ATS	203
Table 7.1	Management's assessment of employee relations at CAAF	217
Table 7.2	Union membership in CAAF	220
Table 7.3	Occupational grouping of respondents at CAAF	228
Table 7.4	Age categories of respondents at CAAF	230
Table 7.5	Ethnic composition of respondents at CAAF	231
Table 7.6	Gender composition of respondents at CAAF	232
Table 7.7	Educational level of respondents at CAAF	234
Table 7.8	Living arrangements of respondents at CAAF	235
Table 7.9	Years of work among respondents at CAAF	238
Table 7.10	Categories of gross weekly income among respondents at CAAF	239
Table 7.11	Employee response to provisions on the job at CAAF	242
Table 7.12	Options for time off for caring of sick family member and actual use in last 12 months among respondents at CAAF	245
Table 7.13	Options for time off for social or customary obligations among respondents at CAAF	247
Table 7.14	Employee response to changes in aspects of work at CAAF	248
Table 7.15a	Employee response to changes in the last 12 months at CAAF	249
Table 7.15b	Employee overview of change in the last twelve months at CAAF	250

Table 7.16	Employee response to forms of consultation about changes in the workplace at CAAF	252
Table 7.17	Employee response to degree of influence over aspects of work at CAAF	254
Table 7.18	Employee response to satisfaction with aspects of work at CAAF	255
Table 7.19a	Employee response to contentment with aspects of the job at CAAF	257
Table 7.19b	Employee contentment with union activities at CAAF	259
Table 7.19c	Employee contentment with general aspects of management and organisation at CAAF	260
Table 7.20	Employee response on motives to work at CAAF	262
Table 8.1	Management's assessment of employee relations at DCAT	273
Table 8.2	Union membership in DCAT	275
Table 8.3	Occupational grouping of respondents at DCAT	280
Table 8.4	Age categories of respondents at DCAT	281
Table 8.5	Ethnic composition of respondents at DCAT	282
Table 8.6	Gender composition of respondents at DCAT	284
Table 8.7	Education level of respondents at DCAT	285
Table 8.8	Living arrangements of respondents at DCAT	287
Table 8.9	Years of work among respondents at DCAT	289
Table 8.10	Categories of gross weekly income among respondents at DCAT	290
Table 8.11	Employee response to provisions on the job at DCAT	292
Table 8.12	Options for time off for caring and actual use in last 12 months among respondents at DCAT	295
Table 8.13	Options for time off required for social or customary obligations among respondents at DCAT	296
Table 8.14	Employee response to changes in aspect of work at DCAT	298

Table 8.15a	Employee response to changes in the last 12 months at DCAT	299
Table 8.15b	Employee overview of changes in last twelve months	300
Table 8.16	Employee response to forms of consultation about changes at DCAT	302
Table 8.17	Employee assessment on degree of influence over aspects of work at DCAT	303
Table 8.18	Employee response to satisfaction with aspects of work at DCAT	304
Table 8.19a	Employee response to contentment with aspects of the job at DCAT	306
Table 8.19b	Employee contentment with union activities at DCAT	307
Table 8.19c	Employee contentment with general aspects of management and organisation at DCAT	308
Table 8.20	Employee response on motives to work at DCAT	310

List of Appendices

No	Title	Page
Appendix 5.10	Sample of the Employee Survey Questionnaire used in the Fiji study.	339
Appendix 5.2	Sample of the General Management Questionnaire used in Fiji study	353
Appendix 5.3	Sample of the Union Delegate Questionnaire used in the Fiji study	373
Appendix 5.4	List of interviewees in field survey, Fiji	405
Appendix 5.5	Sample of explanatory note attached to Employee Survey Questionnaire	407
Appendix 5.6	List of survey respondents showing full range of workplace ID, age, ethnicity, gender, and job title	408

List of Acronyms

ACR	Annual Confidential Report
ALTA	Agricultural Landlord and Tenancy Act
ATS	Air Terminal Services
ATSET	Air Terminal Services Employees Trust
AWIRS	Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey
CAAF	Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji
CAWA	Civil Aviation Workers Association
CEU	CAAF Employees Union
CQI	Continuous Quality Improvement
CQM	Continuous Quality Management
DCAT	Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism
ERG	Existence, relatedness and growth
FASA	Federated Airlines Staff Association
FATCOA	Fiji Air Traffic Control Officers Association
FEF	Fiji Employers Federation
FNTC	Fiji National Training Council
FPSA	Fiji Public Service Association
HRD	Human Resources Development
HRM	Human Resources Management
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
MIS	Management Information System
MQR	Minimum Qualification requirement
OB	Organisational Behaviour
OHS	Occupational Health Safety
PEU	Public Employees Union
PSC	Public Service Commission
SPATC	South Pacific Air Transport Council
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TQM	Total Quality Management
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VCSA	Viti Civil Servants Association

Chapter 1

Introduction

The study

The conceptual origin of this thesis emerges from two directions. The first, from a Fijian managerial perception of the worker as being 'lazy', the second, in the argument that human resources management (HRM) has a functional role in achieving the aims and spreading the benefits of development (Hess, 1994). The thinking behind an HRM approach to development suggests a viable alternative by enhancing governing capacities in situations where traditional orthodoxy has failed in terms of service delivery.

In particular, this study investigates the use and difficulties associated with strategies of enhancing productivity in economic development, with emphasis on motivation in the workplace of the Fiji public sector. The proposition upon which this study is based asserts that Fiji's industrialising experience, through colonialism, has led to the development of a benevolent work culture, resulting in the emergence of an acquiescent workforce which ultimately influences the degree to which public management systems are able to maximise worker potential for greater economic growth.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines benevolence as a disposition to do good; of kindness and goodwill towards another. In this context, benevolent work culture refers to a system of norms and values that propagate fundamental assumptions of happiness and good will as being the desired basis of appropriate organisational behaviour. While a 'happy' worker does not necessarily equate with a motivated worker, this study will

show that the existence of a work culture of benevolence has impacted significantly on the productive capacities of employees. Associated, with this is the notion of an acquiescent workforce which may be described as a categorical manifestation of employee behaviour that features an unquestioning acceptance and a deference to a dominant work culture.

Assuming that the level of commitment of an industrial labour force is determined by the level of industrialisation in society (Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers, 1960:2), it may be argued that since Fiji is a partially industrialising economy, one may expect a partially committed workforce in place. It may even be possible to take this a step further and suggest a direct relationship between the degree of industrialisation, the degree of worker commitment and ultimately, the degree of work motivation thinking utilised in the workplace.

This study aims to contribute to policy-oriented and applied research. It will use a case-study approach drawing upon three key service agencies in Fiji's aviation industry: Air Terminal Services (ATS), a private liability company with joint ownership between government and workers, Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji (CAAF), a statutory body, and the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism (DCAT), a government department. The single industry focus serves to keep major sectoral variables constant while the three different organisational forms provide an illustrative variety of approaches to employee motivation.

In essence, this thesis originated with two concerns. The first is that while development literature paid lip service to the role of human resources, the reality of public sector

management in my own country has been influenced significantly by the heavy hand of colonialism which is reflected by a dominant benevolent work culture and an equally acquiescent workforce. The second is that much of the management commentary and practice(s) assumed that Fijian employees are 'lazy' and carefree with a tendency towards 'irrational' and 'unproductive' behaviour. Both issues seemed important, but neither was well explained by the stereotypes. The propositions that the case studies will investigate are two fold. The first is that work motivation may be largely influenced by extrinsic factors in the broad environment, and second, that organisational form may be irrelevant to the status of work motivation.

Background to the study

Several key features of Fiji's developmental process are particularly relevant to this study on work motivation. These features include: the nature of Fiji's industrialising process, the policy changes of the post-coup years after 1987, the particularities of the public sector, and the uniqueness of the societal context in which all these features emerge and interact. Although these features are inextricably linked in a mutually reinforcing and complex relationship, a brief discussion of each will highlight their relevance to this study on employee motivation.

With regard to the nature of Fiji's industrialising process there are two key significant issues worth pointing out. The first relates to historical trends, and the second to current processes. The historical experiences of the early plantation period of Fiji's colonial economy reveal how the dominant institutional interests, through the colonial administration, planters' groups, and the chiefly system, utilised various strategies in ensuring that their interests were protected and propagated amidst a well orchestrated

structural arrangement that catered for the labour requirements of a developing colonial economy (Leckie, 1990a:47). Although a detailed examination of this is really the subject of another study, a brief explanation of these early work experiences will show the extent to which these forces have shaped the dominant benevolent work culture of the contemporary Fijian work organisations. This in turn has had a profound impact on the extent to which work motivation is used as a strategic tool in maximising the contribution of human resources to economic growth.

In terms of the economic growth strategies that the Fijian Government has shown commitment to achieving, policies have been put in place to this effect (Fiji Budget, 1995). The initial concerns of relevance, viability, and economies of scale that once dominated the rhetoric of modernisation debates in developing market economies, are no longer the overwhelming issues as policy makers and bureaucrats quickly acquire the confidence to take bold initiatives aimed at rejuvenating stagnating economic growth. Rapid changes in technology, a decreasing emphasis on domestic markets, and the experiences and relative successes of some small economies like Mauritius and the 'Asian Tigers', have shown that "even small countries have accepted the possibility of industrialisation as a key development strategy" (Chandra, 1996b:47). If this line of thinking is accepted, it follows that as industrialisation continues to shape and direct the thrust of a developing system of market-oriented production. The transformation reflected in this transitional state of development is

bending and shaping the lives of men (and women) into new channels; a view particularly related to the roles of the managers and the managed in new societies... (Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers, 1960:2).

Consequently, while industrialisation has a determining impact on human motivation in general, it also has a particular impact on work motivation. Having acknowledged the

broader impact of industrialisation on society at large, this study is placed within the context of industrialisation, which will also assist in locating an understanding of employee motivation in Fiji within wider academic discourses.

The contemporary economic policy orientation of Fijian governments will provide another aspect of the background to this study. In general terms, these policies have been characterised by a move away from heavily regulated protectionism to deregulation and a more open economy. This change is seen in policies that promote export-led growth, support and incentives for export-oriented foreign investment, an incremental reduction of direct State participation and control, and the pivotal role given to the private sector in the development process as the government “has embarked on a program of privatisation or corporatisation of its extensive commercial interests” (Forsyth, 1996:2).

The implications of these trends for HRM in general and employee motivation in particular have not been made explicit in policy documents. In fact, it appears that economic growth is expected to emerge naturally as a result of the anticipated progress in restructuring and reform. Nonetheless, it seems likely that issues of maximising employee contribution to productivity will gain greater prominence. This appears to be particularly likely in public sector organisations where restructuring will inevitably require a move from the traditions of public personnel culture to a more strategic use of human resources to achieve organisational objectives. In this respect, the relevance of this study on employee motivation will be seen in the extent to which employee motivation assumes a significant role as a strategic tool in organisational management directed towards maximising worker potential.

The slow pace with which a productivity culture has been incorporated into Fijian workplaces has been a cause for concern. In a study on the status of manufacturing in the country, Chandra remarked that Fiji continues to enjoy high wages in comparison to other developing countries.

Its [Fijian] manufacturing wage costs are 71 per cent higher than those of Mauritius, a comparable country, 346 per cent higher than Indonesia's, 507 per cent higher than Sri Lanka's, and 649 percent higher than China's. Although real wages in the manufacturing sector were declining...current wages remain high (Chandra, 1996b:58).

While the wages remain high the equally high levels of productivity that is expected to eventuate from this remuneration system is not forthcoming. In terms of motivation, this situation suggests that the underlying notion of the individual being primarily driven by economic motives is not reflected. It implies that when the assumptions of motivational logic do not occur, there are non-economic influences at work which equally hold sway over individual behaviour and motivation.

The third background factor of relevance to this study is the nature of Fiji's public sector. A major determinant is the fact that the current system of administration is a reflection of a colonial legacy, whereby the policies and procedures for implementation are hampered by restrictions embodied in the legal and administrative framework of the Westminster model. This organisational heritage runs counter to those macro-level policies aimed at deregulating the economy. The latter have resulted in a growing expectation and indeed pressure from the private sector, the employers' group, and from within the ranks of Cabinet itself for a more efficiently managed public service (Fiji, Budget 1995).

Whilst it may be expected that the effect of the latter would ultimately impact upon the broader management culture of other organisations that come under the umbrella of the public sector, it is less certain what effect these trends will have on perception and interpretation amongst employees in the public sector. In particular, likely issues whereby a gap between management and employee perceptions may appear include: service in and for the public interest, public and private choices, the expectations of government as an employer, and the expectations inherent within the public client and public servant relationship. However, it will be public sector employees upon whom the burden of implementing changes will fall. As a result, their attitudes will be vital to the success of reform.

As a key provider of goods and services in the Fijian economy, and the largest employer in the formal wages and salaries sector, changes in the public sector may have a crucial impact on the wider agenda of moves to the more market-responsive framework of a market-oriented production system. A further level of complexity in the challenges of developing HRM policies in development management initiatives needs to be added, because of the dualism in terms of structures of governance, production systems, traditional and modern lifestyles, gender and age distinctions, ethnic and social divisions, not to mention spatial factors of rural versus urban, mainland versus maritime provinces, the highland interior versus the downstream and coastal areas, and eastern versus western Fiji. Therefore, while the issue of work motivation may have considerable potential as a strategic economic tool aimed at developing and maintaining commitment levels of a partially industrialising workforce, simplistic solutions are unlikely to work.

The fourth feature of Fiji's developmental process is the nature of Fiji's socio-cultural context. Although this issue is covered in greater detail throughout this thesis, it is worth noting the uniqueness of context as a determining factor in the industrialising process of any society, which has been widely acknowledged (Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers, 1960). In Fiji, the norms and values of the workforce in the transitional developing economy have been shaped by the traditional and modern influences of an entrenched chiefly system, Christianity, and a developing cash economy. It may therefore be expected that these would be reflected in 'irrational' forms of worker behaviour, 'inconsistencies' in attitudes to work and shifting perceptions of work. This study of employee motivation is particularly relevant because of the need to understand employee attitudes if a strategic role is to be successfully assigned to human resources in overall organisational (or indeed national) growth strategies.

Significance and aims of the study

The significance of this study may be seen in a number of ways:

1. The implications for policy and further research arising out of this study are vast and hold great potential for further application. Fiji, along with other South Pacific states, is often described as suffering from low labour productivity. Whilst for most of these small island economies, human resources are the only real resources still to be fully utilised, the public sector (as the major employer), must be manned by employees who are motivated enough to ensure a level of productivity conducive to economic growth. Given the importance of human resources in development, this study holds great potential in laying an intellectual framework for comparative insights amongst other Pacific island states, which also experience problems of low motivation and low productivity in the public sector.

2. This study on work motivation not only addresses an extremely important area of development literature, but it is an area of concern that affects organisations in both the public and private sectors. Thereby indicating strategies that transcend the outdated structures of post-colonial administrative systems with the new more innovative public management systems required for good governance and development which draw much of their inspiration from private sector practice.
3. Finally, the study aims to provide a challenge by contributing to dismantle the current intellectual myopia that perpetuates stereotypes and misconceptions regarding Pacific Islanders' notions of, and attitudes to, work. By providing an analytical framework which locates the status of work motivation in Fiji within the broader academic debates, and using a methodology which draws on ideas and practices current in Fijian workplaces, a more informed perspective may be developed from within the Fijian viewpoint on this issue.

The objectives of this study are three-fold:

- i) to highlight the characteristics of work motivation related to employee behaviour in the changing work environment created by economic development;
- ii) to draw out some of the ideological and institutional factors that helped establish an industrial system which contributed to a benevolent work culture in Fiji;
- iii) to investigate through case studies the extent to which current labour management practices address the motivational potential of workers.

In order to achieve these objectives the following set of research questions have been used to guide the discussion:

- 1) What is the link between motivation, productivity, and economic development?

- 2) In locating the problem of work motivation in Fiji in the broader academic debates of industrialisation, what lessons on work motivation can be obtained from the experiences of developed market economies?
- 3) What lessons of replication and transferability of work and motivation thinking can be obtained from the experiences of other developing market economies?
- 4) Given the range of ideological and institutional issues that have influenced economic development in Fiji, where does work motivation feature in the big economic picture?
- 5) What do the three case studies of service agencies reflect about the use and difficulties associated with employee motivation as a strategic tool for enhancing productivity in Fiji's public sector?
- 6) What major findings relating to the potential of motivational strategies as a tool for the pursuit of economic development has this study produced?

Methodology

The research questions are pursued using a case study approach within a comparative perspective. This approach begins with the historical industrialising experiences of selected developed and developing market economies, and locates the problem of work motivation in the Fiji context. The significance of this approach is that it assists in locating the Fijian experience within the broader academic debates of work motivation thinking that have impacted upon the idea of work motivation as an economically strategic tool for enhancing productivity. The examination of work motivation issues within Fiji's industrialising context is in many ways an extension of the initial conceptualising framework upon which this study is based. The use of three case studies in Fiji's aviation industry forms the basis of this study's empirical work. The studies are

limited to a single industry in order to reduce the variables affecting employee and management attitudes. These cases were chosen on the basis of access to field sites, manageability of the proposed sample population and the implications for a comparative analysis amongst three different organisational forms of industry key to public sector functions.

Conceptual framework and central argument

The conceptual framework for this study takes on a multidisciplinary focus and reflects the nature of enquiry in the field of Organisation Behaviour (OB). Based on the argument that economic development requires the productive use of human resources, it is possible if organisational systems illustrate employee capacity and employee willingness to effect this (Hess, 1994). The question of linking work motivation to productivity and ultimately to economic development can be seen in Fiji's case from macro- and micro- perspectives.

At the macro level there is increased recognition by the Fiji government of the need for the following measures:

- 1) A more outward looking, export-oriented economy with an emphasis on economic liberalisation through deregulation, reduced state intervention in the public sector, downsizing of the public service, restructuring of public enterprise, and enhanced private sector growth (Chandra, 1996b; Forsyth, 1996; AusAID, 1995; Cole and Hughes, 1988). The implications of these policy initiatives for economic growth are reflected in the assumptions of enhanced productivity that is expected to emerge, as key interest groups directly linked to productive processes, attempt to determine and control policy and practice.

- 2) Strengthening institutional capacities through the restructuring of sectoral activities, increasing emphasis on human resource development through training and expansion of wage-earning opportunities, developing appropriate legal reforms to enhance policy implementation, and moving to make national economic policies more compatible with global and regional market arrangements (AusAID, 1995).

At the micro level, it is common to hear employers complaining of low productivity, indifferent and low levels of work commitment, and irresponsible and often irrational worker behaviour. Employees, on the other hand, are quick to recognise inconsistencies in management practices, and the restrictive nature of the organisational systems that they work in. The increasing gap and incompatibility between the formal impersonal work culture of bureaucracies, and the informal and group orientation of their employees, is accentuated by a colonial legacy of labour control through the management by industrial relations legislation (Leckie, 1997:19). Although moves to dismantle some of these institutional and structural barriers are being made incrementally, there is a less apparent commitment from the centre. This appears to be due in part to a lack of clear understanding of the pivotal role of human resources management in development and the vast potential that HRM has as a strategic management tool.

Work motivation may then be seen as a micro-level aspect of the industrialising process. The particularities of micro-level initiatives are better understood when their status within the macro framework is identified. In this case, motivation in the workplace is best understood within the industrialising process. Historically, the most influential attempt to relate work attitudes to this broader process in 'developing' economies is the

work of Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison, and Myers (1960) which is used to establish the conceptual basis upon which this study proceeds.

Owenite thinking is also included in the development of this conceptual framework. The reasons are its historical position as an attempt to conceptualise the role of human resources in the early stages of industrialisation and its religious underpinnings, both relevant in contemporary Fiji. These early insights into the provision of a work environment conducive to enhancing the quality of life in society, are currently reflected in Fijian national concerns that seek to link organisational productivity to sectoral development and ultimately to economic growth. In this sense, it could be argued that Owenite thinking sets the basis for a strategic approach to human relations in industry, which is considered useful for this study on Fiji because of the common background in Protestant Christianity. When placed alongside the features of industrialism highlighted by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers (1960), Owen's views on workplace management and worker communities point to important linkages and interdependencies between the micro and macro domains of economic activity, and serve to further an understanding of the peculiarities of employee motivation.

A synopsis on religious thinking regarding work is included in the early discussion relating to the emergence of work ethics as perceived and determined by societal institutions. Although apparently tangential, this is central to understanding the development of normative attitudes and public policy where institutional frameworks that emerge through industrialisation assume key roles in directing and controlling economic activity. As an agent of intervention, religion (together with commerce and colonialism) has played an important part in shaping societal norms and values that

imprint upon the nature and meaning of work. The importance of this influence in an intensely religious country such as Fiji should not be underestimated.

Interpretations of the meaning of work offered by anthropologists and industrial sociologists highlight the complexities of this activity. In particular, the persistence of problems of labour productivity and management in developed market economies indicate that the challenges and constraints of addressing the same concerns in a small industrialising economy will be even greater due to the added complications of the structural tendencies in place.

A further factor in identifying the status of work motivation and its role within the broader framework of Fiji's economic development arises from local political realities. The dual nature of Fiji's system of governance, characterised by the coexistence of conflicting paradigms entrenched in a structure of ethnic institutionalism, indicates that the larger political considerations of power and control, highlighted in the various meanings of work, have far reaching implications for worker behaviour and the way the workplace is managed.

For these reasons an approach which first provides a critical overview on work motivation theory will be used to identify western interpretations of motivation and the applicability to this case. An ensuing discussion on work and motivation in the public sector highlights aspects of productivity and service delivery that are peculiar to public sector management systems. As with the discussion of employee motivation theory, this exploratory analysis lays the basis for a broad understanding of what might be expected of service agencies in Fiji's aviation industry.

Therefore, this chapter establishes the conceptual framework in which this study on employee motivation is located. The following two chapters enhance the context in which the current form of work motivation in Fiji and its status in national economic development may be understood, by drawing upon experiences in developed and developing market economies. Insights from these comparable experiences are deemed relevant for Fiji as attempts are made to draw out the various ideological and institutional issues that have emerged and shaped the culture of work, worker behaviour, and labour-management-state systems. This in turn impacts upon the extent to which employee motivation is used as a tool for enhancing human resource capacities for economic growth. Together, the second and third chapters, fully develop the conceptual framework of this thesis.

The main argument of this thesis asserts that the notion of 'laziness' has its origins in the normative concepts of work espoused through British colonialism and its historical links with the British experience of the industrial revolution. The application of this experience was undertaken with particular force in Fiji. The colonial perception of an indigenous native 'tradition', deemed worthy of 'protection and preservation', resulted in a whole new workforce being imported.

In view of the uniqueness of the Fijian context, this thesis argues that the extent to which work motivation thinking is being used as an economic strategy is determined to a large extent by a British colonial legacy and a form of British industrialism which has resulted in a work culture of benevolence. Key stakeholders who direct and control economic activities in society have an impact on labour-management relationships in the workplace, which in turn influence productivity. While stakeholders at the macro-level are the state,

employers and unions at the micro-level, and in particular for the public sector, these broad interests are reflected in the following forms. Besides the government as the executor responsible for managing national economic development, this interest is reflected in statutory bodies and public companies by a Board as representative of government interest(s), senior management as controllers of organisational resources, the trade unions as workers' representatives, and the employees themselves as providers of labour.

With the exception of employees, these stakeholders form the core of industrialising elites whose position of influence emanate from a complex web of mutual interdependent relationships. The process consists of a network of powerbrokers in multiple roles, who continually traverse the traditional and modern bureaucratic organisational systems, as they strive to influence the direction and pace of development policies. In most cases, the motive for being seen to be involved in this power network is not so much financial but for prestige in the community, where the notion of maintaining group cohesiveness at the expense of greater individualism is central to the social principles of communal existence.

The same kinds of work convictions and perceptions are quickly emulated by employees, and soon 'irrational' and 'anti-capitalist' work tendencies suggest that most workers who live a dualistic form of existence are often motivated to work by a combination of extrinsic and intrinsic factors. Since Fiji is a partially industrialising economy with a partially industrialising workforce whose level of work commitment to a market oriented system of production is fairly low, the following argument reflects the basis of this thesis. Positing that although social and economic needs may be the initial driving force that lead people to seek paid employment, the relative value of money in the rituals of social

exchange and distribution, eventually leads the worker to view his or her organisational commitment in a manner determined by the demands of a socio-economic network and incorporating the complex roles of a pronounced dualistic context.

If the notions of work motivation thinking are to be integrated as a strategic tool of economic development, then the form it takes in the workplace ought to be cognisant of the nature of this dualistic existence. Until the actual contexts are acknowledged and accommodated institutionally, the underlying principles of enhanced worker productivity, couched within the framework of economic rationalism, will continue to pose significant challenges for management systems adamant on maximising the potential of its human resources.

The study area: Fiji

Fiji, a former colony of Great Britain in the Pacific Ocean, is considered to be one of the most economically developed of all the island states. With a population base of approximately 750,000, Fiji's heterogenous populace comprises two main ethnic groups, indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians, most of whom are descendants of indentured labourers. Other ethnic groups include Europeans, Chinese, Banabans, Rotumans, a scattering of other Pacific islanders and those of mixed ancestry (labelled as part-Europeans, part-Fijian, part-Chinese and so on). Although the two main vernacular languages are part of the national school curriculum, English is the language of instruction and official communication.

Fiji's archipelago comprises a mixture of naturally endowed high volcanic islands and low coral outcrops. Of the three hundred odd islands only a little over one hundred are

occupied. There is a distinct hot and wet season, and during the latter, the country has experienced several catastrophic cyclones and floods.

The socio-cultural set up reflects the heterogeneous nature of its population. There is a distinct rural subsistence sector alongside a fast growing market-oriented economy. The majority of indigenous Fijians reside in villages and for those who have moved into the urban and peri-urban areas for work and education, many still retain their traditional links. Indo-Fijians who live in the rural areas either reside on individual farming units or in small farming collectives known as settlements. Although Hinduism and Christianity, in the form of Methodism and Catholicism are the dominant faiths, many other western and eastern religions are practised.

Fiji is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral legislature modelled on Westminster. The military coups of 1987 have seen changes in leadership, the assumption of a republican status of the country and withdrawal from the Commonwealth, the abrogation of the 1990 constitution, a flight of capital and skilled manpower, increased uncertainties in the land tenancy Act, and unresolved issues pertaining to the current constitutional review. In the midst of it all, emerges a political scenario that has been experienced by many former colonial states who, like Fiji, have had ethnic tensions and dualistic systems of governance that aim to preserve indigenous rights and interests. The conflicting interests often experienced in the industrialising phase in Fiji, as it turns towards greater economic growth, reflects part of the process of nation building.

While Fiji's economy has long been dependent on sugar and tourism, major policy initiatives in the last decade have come to view the manufacturing sector as "a critical

element of Fiji's economic future" (Chandra, 1996b:47). Literacy levels are reasonably high and life expectancy is one of the highest in the Pacific. Current moves to rejuvenate the stagnating economy indicate that policy makers and planners now recognise that the stereotyped myth of industrialisation as non viable for small economies is a non issue, having seen the experiences of other small economies who have successfully pursued this strategy (Chandra, 1996b).

A recent economic report on Fiji has shown that "total public sector employment has grown from around 8,000 in 1970 to 29,500, accounting for almost 40 percent of paid employment" (AusAID, 1995:31). The core of the civil service comprises forty odd line agencies who are administered by a fairly centralised and hierarchical system. In addition to its large size, the Fiji civil service is "relatively well paid, with an average civil service wage 4.2 times greater than GDP per capita, compared with 2.9 for Asia and Latin America" (AusAID, 1995:31).

The executive function of government is incorporated in the Constitution and further articulated in the Public Service Act. The four administrative divisions of the country each have field offices of the main line agencies. Fijian administration is handled by the Ministry of Fijian Affairs whose administrative arrangements include supervisory and facilitating roles over the different administrative levels. Suva, the capital city on the eastern side of the main island, is the seat of government and the central business district. While Nadi, on the western part, is the town in which CAAF and ATS are based, and home to Fiji's only international airport.

Relative to its Pacific island neighbours, Fiji has the advantages of a large natural and human resource base, a reasonably defined level of economic and social development, “a relatively well educated population, an entrepreneurial class, good physical infrastructure (and, a leading) commercial capital of much Pacific Island economic activity” (AusAID, 1995:9). In this contemporary setting, the use and difficulties of motivational strategies for enhancing productivity in the workplace of the Fiji public sector will be investigated.

Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1, the introductory chapter, sets the focus of the study. Following, is, a narrative of the significance and aims of the study which locates this enquiry within the broader realm of the current academic debates on work motivation, and sets up possible parameters for future research and policy. Overall, the multidisciplinary focus of this study will be reflected in the manner by which the main argument for this thesis has been derived. An overview of the study area at the end of this chapter provides a country update.

Chapter 2 provides the first of two comparative analyses which locate work motivation thinking in Fiji by drawing upon the broad academic debates surrounding work and motivation, as reflected in the experiences of selected developed market economies.

Chapter 3 analyses the experiences of work and motivation in selected developing market economies. As part of the comparative approach, this chapter investigates the extent to which the particularities of developing and industrialising contexts impact upon the replication and transferability of western-oriented notions of work and motivation.

Having established the status of work and motivation thinking in the broader realms of developed and developing experiences, Chapter 4 locates this study in the Fijian context. For this purpose, work and motivation thinking is examined through the framework of economic dualism in Fiji.

Chapter 5 focuses on methodology and the analytical framework of this study. While the aim is to provide a link between the main theoretical arguments emerging from the earlier chapters, and the conversion into possible instruments for research, this chapter attempts to reinforce the role of the case study approach as a means by which the particularities of work and motivation in the Fijian situation may also find an intellectual niche within the spectrum of motivational studies.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 are the three case studies which form the empirical basis of this thesis, and present the findings of the three organisations as they relate to employee motivation in the public sector. These case studies show the extent to which the system of labour-management relationships may impact upon the motivational potential of employees, in the push for greater worker productivity in the workplace.

Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, highlights the major findings of this study with a particular emphasis on the uniqueness of the Fijian situation regarding work and motivation, and more importantly, its contribution of knowledge in the field in terms of implications for future research and policy.

Chapter 2

Work motivation in developed market economies

Introduction

This chapter locates the problem of employee motivation within the parameters of the broader academic debate on employee behaviour in changing work environments created by economic development. The chapter begins by examining some of the conceptual underpinnings of work motivation theory as it evolved during the process of industrialisation. Particular attention is paid to those factors which are influential in contemporary Fiji. A focus on the British historical experience is used because of the influence of British colonialism and Protestant Christianity in Fiji. Following, is a critical overview of work motivation theory undertaken to identify new directions in which the debates have developed since the initial ground-breaking studies. The extent to which foreign concepts of work motivation have been adapted to suit the particularities of non-European contexts is investigated to illustrate the potential relevance of work motivation theory as a strategic tool for maximising human resources for economic growth outside the context in which these ideas developed. The final section completes the theoretical background by looking at the implications for economic growth and the assumptions inherent in work motivation practices. This synopsis provides a sufficient basis for developing insights into the changing nature of work and work relations, with the ultimate aim of developing a comprehensive understanding of the extent to which work motivation theory as a strategic conceptual tool may be used in enhancing human resource contributions to economic growth.

Growth and the good life: shades of industrialism, Owenism and religion

In advancing the propositions that formed the basis of a theory of labour and development, Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers (1960) argued that labour has a contextual framework.

...they [labour-management-state relations] are not discrete phenomena in society; they are by and large, determinate results rather than determining forces. To study these relations accordingly, it is necessary to study their contexts. This has led us to examine the industrialization process, in several of its many forms, and to develop a view of industrialism itself (Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers, 1960:1).

This argument applies with particular force to the issue of employee motivation as a tool for strategic human resource management. In a small developing economy like Fiji, the demands and expectations arising within the partially industrialising social framework will have far-reaching implications for the degree of cohesiveness and reciprocal behaviour among the key stakeholders who direct and control workplace productivity.

In the context of their study, industrialisation “refers to the process of transition from the traditional society toward industrialism” (Kerr et al. 1960:1), whereby “industrialism is the concept of the fully industrialized society, ... which the industrialization process inherently tends to create” (Kerr et al. 1960:33). The implication for this study lies in the functional significance that is encompassed within the logic of industrialism. The assumption of Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers is that once the contextual factors of industrialisation are analysed, the trends that emerge from its history may enable practitioners and researchers to construct deductive frameworks that allow some predictability in the direction and/or development of the next phase in the industrialising process. This has clear implications for human behaviour, especially in the context of work, which are germane to a consideration of work motivation.

Although Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers expressed initial interest in labour protest as the focus of industrialisation, they shifted emphasis to an examination of the industrialising elites once they realised that the only universal phenomenon affecting workers lay in “the inevitable structuring of the managers and the managed in the course of industrialization” (ibid:8-9). The significance of this emphasis on employee motivation in Fiji is that it offers a conceptual framework which attempts to explain the relationship between managers and workers in the context of economic growth. This may be related to the underlying proposition of this thesis which argues that the benevolent nature of Fiji’s work culture impacts upon the extent to which management systems in the Fiji public sector are able to maximise worker potential. By examining the nature of industrialising elites in the broader framework of economic management, we may understand the nature of management systems in Fiji’s public sector in the context of interrelationships and interdependencies between key stakeholders who directly influence the micro-level operations of organisational entities.

The picture of the early industrialising worker hedged in from all sides by, “a complex web of rules [that bound him] to the industrial process, to his job, to his community, [and] to patterns of behaviour”(Kerr et al.1960:8), confirmed for Kerr and his colleagues the central role of the industrialising elite in managing the disparities in the nature and form of labour in the societal context. Although country profiles have shown that there were varying levels of activity and participation of the workforce in economic development, Kerr and his colleagues were convinced that it is management which has a determining impact on the direction of industrialisation (Kerr et al.1960:8).

Nonetheless, the arguments surrounding the struggle for dominance between the old order and the new (Kerr et al.1960:9), the superficialities of East versus West dichotomies (Kerr et al.1960:9), together with the relativity of time and place and their impact on judgements (Kerr et al.1960:10), caused them to adopt a multilinear approach to development. This approach to understanding labour relations draws on comparable country experiences that sought to place labour-management-state relations “in the context of the imperatives of industrialism (the universal), the desires of controlling elites (the related) and the demands of the particular environment (the unique)” (Kerr et al.1960:11-12).

Their study of industrialism asserts a multilinear approach to development that eventually converges into a universal state of pluralistic industrialism. Critics of the approach point to the weaknesses of assuming the determining “importance of technology in shaping certain key features of industrial society, [and] the others being determined by the dominant industrializing elite” (Salaman,1980:4). The bias towards a technological and management-led style of development theory creates a major difficulty for Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myer’s focus on the issues of labour and management problems in economic growth. In particular, this bias “underestimates the crucial significance of *the social and economic setting* within which technology and productive process[es] are applied, [and it assumes a] strangely de-politicised world in which choice and decision-making on the grounds of ideology and interest are ruled out”(Salaman,1980:4-5). Experiences of newly industrialising societies have shown that the exercise of political choice, and the goals and interests that determine the choice and application of technology, reflect the existence of organised interest(s). This being the

case, the underlying logic in a thesis on industrialism can only prevail if it is placed in a political context which allows for conflict.

Current indications pertaining to targeted economic growth in Fiji reflect a move towards increased industrialisation undertaken within a distinctively dualistic institutional framework. This is reflected in the diverse interests involved in the power struggles between the older and more senior chiefly lines and the younger well educated commoners, and between different classes and the myriad of sub-cultures both within and between such groups in Fiji. All of which points to the recurring conflict between the old order and the new which is an inevitable characteristic of the major socio-economic changes inherent in industrialism. Such a situation is also evident in the histories of older industrialised societies as they became transformed through industrialisation. A further limitation on the efficacy of the industrialism approach, within the parameters of Third World experiences, suggests that the particularities of socio-cultural contexts may be at least as determinative as the overall process (Hess,1986:54).

This may be particularly true in studies establishing a link between economic development and changes in the nature of work, especially in the early stages of industrialism. One such study which has impacted on work motivation in situations of rapid social change, and is a series of polemical writings by nineteenth century British industrialist, Robert Owen. Not only was he a successful entrepreneur at the famous New Lanark cotton mills, but through his vision for a new society, Owen was renowned as one of the greatest British social reformers in the period when the introduction of machines and new technology began transforming society on a very large scale. While

remembered in political theory as an early philosopher, it is Owen's theory and practice of management of employees which is relevant here. Specifically, the two aspects particularly relevant to Fiji, are the importance of perceptions of justice in a workforce experiencing rapid change, and the role of religious concepts in a nation strongly influenced by Christianity.

Claeys (1991) refers to the core principle underlying Owens thinking, 'philosophical necessitarianism', which argues that individual behaviour is largely influenced by the environment (Claeys,1991:xxiv). This contingent view implies that if the context in which individuals exist is not conducive to enhancing the quality of life, then individual attempts at achieving the same goal would be equally constrained. Owen's notions of justice, equality, and goodness were reflected in the strategies that he put in place with his workforce, and farther afield in the worker communities around New Lanark that he helped establish. The characteristics of a newly industrialising workforce which featured indiscipline and lack of commitment to the demands of a changing work environment were reflected in workers being "frequently drunk, prone to theft and dishonest" (Claeys,1991:ix). Owen considered such behaviour incompatible with the expectations of the work environment. His response was reflected in a management style in which negative elements that brought on these dysfunctional behavioural tendencies were addressed through the use of a positive proactive approach to labour management, "by offering a healthy education and a reasonable working and living environment for his labourers" (Claeys,1991:ix).

Such innovative strategies attracted some opposition from the old order of landed gentry, who, while generally critical of industrialism, "were happy to check the

unrestrained progress of commerce and manufacturing” (Claeys,1991:xii) by providing selective token measures of support for Owen’s work. The particular response of legislators to Owen’s push for labour reform illustrated conflicting interests between proponents of the old order and advocates of a new. When Owen tried to convince legislators of “the need to regulate conditions of labour in the new mills through a Factory Act,...he encountered indifference and hostility” (Claeys, 1991:xii). The wider implications of empowering the working class through formal learning and training in the workplace and in the communities, also struck at the social relations of production by narrowing the gap between workers (the poor) and owners (the rich). In this respect, the notions of socialism espoused by Owen were regarded in direct contrast to the ethics of capitalism which promoted a “system of private property and the subordination of all human affairs to the drive for profit” (Claeys,1991:xiii).

The relevance of Owen’s work to this thesis is the attempt to establish the link between organisational productivity and economic growth. As societies move from an agrarian-based and labour intensive state to a mixed market mode and ultimately a fully fledged market economy, the incompatibilities between individual and institutional expectations included an enhanced role for labour in production which encouraged particular attention to the contribution of human resources to economic development. Although Owen’s views may be considered by some to be too progressive, and in the eyes of the Church too unorthodox for his time, his grand vision of a new society paved the way for new directions. It helped to lay the intellectual groundwork for the later emergence of a behaviourist approach to organisation. Even after one hundred and fifty years, Owen’s concerns for a ‘holistically healthy’ work environment, aimed at achieving a motivated

workforce and enhanced productivity levels, are echoed in some of the institutional dogma of national reform agendas.

Another aspect of Owenism of relevance to this study concerns the relationship between religiously founded notions of justice and the practical business of managing workers. In the political science literature, this aspect of Owen's writing is generally considered part of the development of 'socialist' ideas in Europe (Claeys, 1991). This is partly due to the opposition to any notions of equality by eighteenth century European secular and clerical authorities. Similarly, 'socialist' ideas would face difficulties in the replication of any such notion amongst twentieth century Fijian secular and clerical order because of the distinct polarisation of traditional and western value systems that the Church and the establishment upholds. The linkages of Owen's insights on human resource management to his broader social theory is relevant to this study. The relationship between fair treatment and work commitment, underpinned by a belief in the equality of people before God, led Owen to assert that in the workplace, it was the responsibility of managers to exercise authority over employees in a Christian fashion.

This approach, founded on a Judao-Christian tradition, has continued to influence key principles like human rationality, public versus private choice, the common good and ethical morality, thus providing links between economic and religious thought. One such view put forward by Dow (1994) goes as far to suggest that if ever there was an area in society where religion encroached and superimposed its values it was in the attitude to work.

In order to establish what this impact might be, a short discussion of the roots of Judao-Christian views of work is necessary. The Hebrew tradition regarded work as a medium through which an individual “satisfies his or her God-given role in the order of Creation” (Gordon,1994:25). In this tradition, Jesus is seen as having worked willingly and without question in His environment. The New Testament writers saw this as evidence that work was more than a simple sacrifice of leisure. It is more an act of worship that “finds its reward in the ability to be a more effective participant on the demand side of markets” (Gordon,1994:31), as the individual plays an active role in the created order. The relevance of these arguments to an understanding of the way in which this religious tradition has impacted on the work ethic is aptly summed up by Vaughn (1994) who argues that in Christian communities

work is both a theologically charged activity, and the way by which humans get their living...and this fundamental level of how one understands human action in an important way is deeply sensitive to theological or philosophical concerns (Vaughn,1994: 240).

Other religious scholars go further, proposing for instance that the notion of work as enshrined in the Protestant ethic suggests that it is morally sound to invest time and effort in hard work, as these values are crucial to upholding individual character and saving souls (Dow,1994:202). The “apocalyptic tradition in western religion” (Nelson,1994:229) has also been interpreted in terms of the inculcation of suitable work ethics that a society should uphold as the state embarks upon planned initiatives for greater economic growth, in order to avoid disaster and civil upheaval.

The impact of this form of Christian dogma is aptly reflected in the teachings of Methodism, which has had particular force in shaping individual character and group behaviour in Fiji (Thornley,1979). A later synopsis of the impact of Methodism in Fiji’s

industrialisation, will show that the influence of Christianity on the social and political arenas of development has had significant impacts on employee behaviour. The general case for such influence argues that a strong Judao-Christian tradition, “carried to all the corners of the earth by European commerce and sea power” (Brennan and Waterman,1994:251), has had a fundamental impact on the normative values and beliefs of recipient societies.

The case of the United States of America has been analysed in some detail in this respect and may be used to illustrate the depth of influence that this religious tradition can exercise over economic activity in general and work attitudes in particular. Heyne argues that “only a religion, and not a mere system of ordering practical affairs, could have had such vast power to shape the modern era” (Heyne,1994:236). The role of religion in the life and rituals of a community steeped in a powerful secular theology is reflected in his analysis of the American dream.

The American people have made economic growth the highest value in American life because growth has been expected to transform the emotional and spiritual condition of mankind. Economic progress is expected to bring Heaven on Earth. Indeed, the very success of modern economies in actually generating rapid growth and in achieving a standard of living quite unprecedented in human history, may have depended in part on the social sanction of a powerful secular religion. Remove the moral approval of this religion, and many members of society might not be so willing to bear the many large dislocations and to make the other major sacrifices often necessary for rapid economic growth (Heyne,1994:236).

Although these religious sanctions may have provided a mechanism for harmonising interests in the process of American economic growth, the later experiences of some developing economies shows a growing dissension in the role of, and the stand taken by, the Church in development. In analysing the Latin American experience, Harcourt (1994) notes the growth of religiously charismatic movements that opposed the dictates

of the orthodox religion, and argues that these may be at least partly understood as reactions to the unrelenting focus on the market reflected in the societal-secular view. The distortion that may arise from an overemphasis on the market is summed up by Harcourt (1994) as follows:

In the real world, markets seldom have the required characteristics which ensure that they behave in socially desirable ways. Moreover when they do not have them, markets create awful problems for the workings of the system as a whole as well as for its parts... Even if the characteristics of actual markets do not accord with those of the ideal market, it does *not* logically follow that interventionist policies *would* make actual outcomes better. The outcome of admittedly non-ideal markets could still be the best “second-best” solution (Harcourt,1994:210-211).

The implication of this emphasis on personal behaviour and earthly lots in a market environment which is impersonal and anti-social, restrained the poor from questioning the existence of an unjust status quo (Harcourt,1994:212). Further it has been suggested that the many attempts to divert religious belief and accompanying political action from evolving into more functional policy-making roles reflect well orchestrated strategies “that place undue emphasis on individual belief and behaviour that are to be divorced from social groups and social consequences” (Harcourt,1994:212).

The relevance of these arguments to this thesis is in the impact of religion on shaping societal norms in the area of human survival and the enhancement of the quality of life. As in the earlier industrialising societies of Britain and America, the impact of the Church in Fiji has left an indelible mark on the major institutions of society (Thornley,1979). From the lowest level of the family unit, to the formal settings of education, occupation, and politics, the value systems of Christianity together with the inherent biases of the paternalistic and mercantile policies of colonialism have revolutionised lifestyles and communities.

The current mix of traditional and western values that pervade is partially reflected in the Fijian ethos (Ravuvu,1987). For the indigenous Fijian, it is argued that his very existence centres around maintaining a balance amongst the three key institutions of church, land, and state. The literal translation of this Fijian dogma *na lotu, vanua kei na matanitu*, establishes the framework for a set of obligatory and reciprocal mechanisms, that determine individual behaviour and social relationships. Amongst ethnic Fijians the perception of work as impressed upon individuals by their kinship networks is interpreted as the ability to fulfill and uphold throughout one's lifespan, a series of obligatory tasks in this institutional triad. The descending order of these institutions reflect the societal-secular link of which the Fijian world view is constituted. The intermediary position of the land (*vanua*), which constitutes both human and other physical resources in both singular and aggregate forms, is in essence, the key link between God and the State.

Put another way, this Fijian dogma suggests that it is only *through* the people as custodians of natural resources, and keepers of the laws of the land, that God gives His divine powers of governance to the State. For a multi-ethnic and developing economy like Fiji, the conflict of interests between the demands of an individualistic work ethic and the notions of a communalistic existence embodied in the larger concept of the *vanua*, sets the basis for social and political dislocations; one which may be expected in industrialisation.

It follows that attitudes to work in Fiji will be strongly influenced by these external factors. The nature of work itself, however, will also clearly have an impact. The following discussion focuses on two aspects of work of particular relevance to this

study. First, the experiences of work as perceived and performed in non market-oriented and market-oriented societies, provides a comparative basis for understanding the shifting paradigms of work in Fiji as the economy oscillates between a rural subsistence base and an urban market-oriented system. Second, this study examines the nature of employee motivation as a strategic tool for enhancing productivity in a changing work environment.

All work and no play: the work challenge revisited

The complexities of work have always been central to human activity and have differentiated mankind from all other forms of life. It is accepted orthodoxy that “as man [and woman] develops the means to cope with and control the physical environment in order to satisfy basic needs, he simultaneously produces the very conditions which create new needs and aspirations, new ideas, traditions, and institutions” (Rinehart,1975:1). Apart from being a central concern of human existence, work as implied from Rinehart’s (1975) observation also has the potential to be a social problem. This stems from the fact that the institution of work, perhaps especially in the context of a market-oriented system of production, has an inherent capacity to influence human relationships individually and collectively.

Anthropological studies of non-industrialised environments (for instance, Malinowski,1922; Evans-Pritchard,1940; Hoebel,1960) commonly alluded to the fact that in non-market cultures people do not see their ‘work’ as being separate from their social environment. Drawing from the findings of the cases cited above, Applebaum concludes that in such societies, the individual’s role in work is basically determined by their standing in all spheres of life (Applebaum,1984:3-12). Therefore, rather than the

nature of work determining human relations at work, the nature of social relations manifested in the kinship networks determines why, how, and with whom work is done.

While notions of work in predominantly non-market societies have tended to reflect this feature, studies of work in market oriented communities tend to reflect a more individualised position. It has been suggested however, that “as far as industrial workers are concerned, the concept of workers’ needs varies in the different schools of thought, depending upon the assumptions and values that are taken for granted” (Hirszowicz,1981:75). Perhaps the strongest influence on management practice has been the scientific management approach which argues that workers are almost exclusively motivated by monetary rewards (Taylor,1911). The model of economic man(!) that underlies this school of thought suggests that, “since economic incentives are controlled by the organization, man is essentially a passive agent to be manipulated, motivated and controlled by the organization” (Hirszowicz,1981:75).

The counter arguments to this rationalist model were reinforced by the findings in the famous Hawthorne experiment, conducted under the guidance of Elton Mayo and his associates (Sanford,1973:30). Not only did this study reveal the importance of group norms on individual behaviour in the workplace, but it also highlighted the weaknesses of a wholly rationalist approach to understanding employee behaviour. Some studies of work in industrialised societies come close to this conclusion in seeing an increasing recognition of human relations in the workplace “as an empirical refutation of scientific management or Taylorism, which sees man as an asocial, self-seeking animal” (Hirszowicz,1981:225). As Beynon and Blackburn (1972) and Braverman (1974), point out however, despite the criticisms of scientific management being economic-oriented

and fairly mechanistic, it predominates in managerial practices. In their view, this is because it encapsulates the essence of capitalist production by focusing on a rationalistic approach to the management of human behaviour (Hirszowicz,1981:255), which is deemed to be in line with the pervasive sense of economic rationalism that forms the basis of the capitalist ethos.

Industrial sociologists have provided major insights into the impact of work and industry on the institutions and processes of modern industrial societies (Salaman,1980:2). From the early writings of Marx (1930) and Weber (1930), to the later works of Durkheim (1933), Braverman (1974), Fox (1974) and Esland and Salaman (1980), it has become common to suggest that “the capitalist nature of western economies was highly significant for the nature of work experience” (Salaman,1980:40). Not only have the normative notions of ‘work’ arisen in this specifically western experience of industrialisation, but all these western notions of work define it in economic terms. Thus economic activity is “reflected throughout history whereby labour has been closely linked with the provision of goods and services (and income) essential to human maintenance” (Rinehart,1975:6).

The analysis of the nineteenth and twentieth century meanings of work undertaken by Fox (1980), provides insights that assist in comprehending the impact of an anglo-organisational tradition on the emergence of a system of labour-management relations, and the shaping of a work culture in the former British colonies. The three social meanings of work that emerged in the early period of British industrialism are summed up by Fox (1980) as follows:

For those at the apex of the social pyramid, both the material necessity to work and the inner compulsion to work were marks of inferior status. We are familiar with the implications of the first - that leisure was a prerequisite for the true

gentleman. The implications of the second, too, have probably been as far-reaching: the strand in Britain's culture which disparages professionalism and glorifies the cult of the amateur appears to have its roots in aristocratic disdain for middle-class, Puritan, dedicated earnestness(Moore,1973:488-490)... Among the middle classes, the Victorian gospel of work waxed in all its self-tormenting complexities. Alongside its dominant extrinsic significance in terms of wealth, status and power, there lay available...its intrinsic significance in terms of self-enhancement...For the working classes, there was principally only the extrinsic meaning available,and that at not much above subsistence level for many. Work design excluded for all but a minority of skilled men the possibility of intrinsic meanings, and the struggle for survival absorbed too much energy to allow aspirations in that direction (Fox,1980:163).

In Fiji, where such class distinctions have emerged (Plange,1985), the notion of work and its trappings are soon acquired by the emerging classes in a manner which has been perpetuated by the British colonial heritage. For a developing market economy, the experience and process of colonisation saw the replication of foreign work systems, and alien work habits that infringed upon traditional practices. But even the 'new forms' of labour-management relations that emerged prior to, and after national independence, have been equally constrained in mastering the new challenges of managing a partially industrialising workforce. The particularities of the socio-cultural context are likely to be reflected in the variety of meanings attributed to work in line with the general tendency of people to "seek to ensure, that built into the structure, design, conduct of work, and work organizations, are meanings which serve *their* interests, purposes and values" (Fox,1980:140).

On the other hand, in the Marxist tradition a focus on structural determinants locates the meaning of work in the relationship between labour, class and the state. Marx (1962) saw the organisation of work as a key to social structure.

The specific economic form in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of the direct producers, determined the relationship of the rulers to the ruled ... It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers - a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social

productivity - which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short the corresponding specific forms of the state (Marx, 1962:791).

Salaman (1980) has interpreted this Marxist view to suggest that

...the way in which the means of production are owned, and the nature of the relationship between employers and employees in production,...determine social and political structure and process (Salaman,1980:3).

He summarises the effect of this type of relationship in a capitalist system, and its impact on the broader issues of efficient productivity as:

...the purchase of labour power (which necessitates management); and the conflict resulting from the creation and expropriation of profit (which creates conflict and necessitates control), have an important implication on the design of work: it causes efficiency and control to become irredeemably interrelated (Salaman,1980:10).

As already noted, in a social system dedicated to market production, such as industrialism, work relations have historically taken on a commercial form. In the British tradition, this has meant that the employer and employee could rely on a regulatory system which created certain rights and duties. These have generally been conceptualised as an employment contract in which the two parties rely upon a legally enforceable relationship in which terms of employment are expressed or implied. Those who focus on the exploitation of labour (Fox,1974), see this concept as an “ideological cloak” which eventually resulted in the emergence of work relationships characterised by low trust and even distrust between employers and employees. This has been reflected in a trend symptomatic of increased instability experienced in western societies, with industrial conflict being a significant factor in the pursuit of economic growth (Hirszowicz,1981:255).

Within this British tradition of the contract of employment, the employee can expect defined rewards in the form of wages, hours, holidays, and a reasonably safe working environment, while the employer can expect reasonable work effort and obedience to reasonable instructions (Hirszowicz,1981:78). Although the presumption in common law is enforced through the courts, the very concept of 'contract' as applied to employment is peculiar, because the legality of contracts rests upon the supposition that both sides of an agreement are equal. In employment however,this is not the case since the employer is much more powerful than the employee (Hirszowicz,1981:79).

In Fiji, the partially industrialised character of the economy combined with a British colonial legacy, has created inherent tension between the approaches of management and employees to work behaviour. Whilst post-colonial forms are seen in authoritarian and paternalistic attitudes of employers, the incomplete process of industrialisation has had a major impact on employee attitudes. Employees are likely to misunderstand a work contract, while their work ethics tend to be largely determined by the broader social demands and expectations of traditional kinship alliances and non-organisational factors. On the other hand, employers in Fiji have generally failed to recognise that these perceptions of work, if suitably harnessed, can create viable strategies of work motivation that could significantly influence productivity levels.

While it can be seen that in non market-oriented societies, work is fused with all other spheres of life, in market-oriented economies, work is isolated from these activities and situated within its own order of necessity. When that happens, it is given its own rhythm which might be inconsistent with the rhythm of work in non market-oriented societies. It is given its own time frame which is inconsistent with the nature of work and time in

non market-oriented societies. In the end, it is enumerated and recompensed on the basis of gratification systems which place greater emphasis on the solo effort as compared to the group performance characteristic of individual effort in non market-oriented societies.

Even in market oriented societies, it has been argued that work implying "getting paid for a fair day's work" has become an alienated and alienating activity (Aungles and Parker,1988:28). In the Marxist critique of capitalism, alienation is described as a process whereby the worker is separated from his work, the fruits of his labour, his peers, and even himself. In this approach, the total separation of work and self is seen to result in a lack of meaning in work, eventuating in alienated workers turning to mostly non-work areas in search of values and identity (Aungles and Parker,1988:28-29).

So widespread has this concern with how people define roles in relation to themselves and to others at work become in western societies that it is considered an essential component in the field of behavioural sciences. Social psychology has contributed insights regarding the individualised features of motivation. Even in market-oriented organisations, the task of managing and sustaining a motivated workforce remains a complex problem, as it was at the advent of industrialism (Maslow,1968). In nations like Fiji which are attempting to emulate the economic growth of developed market economies, this problem of employee motivation is likely to be even more complex and determining of productivity. As the economy gets transformed through industrialisation, the meaning of work is equally transformed.

The implications of changing attitudes to work for motivation and enhanced worker productivity are a vital issue for operational management. Social scientists in the developed market economies generally recognise that employee motivation is integral to organisational dynamics, and indeed to wider structural changes, particularly as countries move into advanced stages of economic growth (Herzberg et al., 1959:126-128, Hirszowicz, 1981:84). These western approaches to work motivation have a substantial history which forms the next part of this chapter.

The development of work motivation theory: a critical overview

The significance of employee motivation for the achievement of organisational goals has seen the development of a range of theories or models that attempt to explain employee behaviour. As a starting point for this study, the definition of the term motivation is basically drawn from works on organisational behaviour, which delivers a micro-level perception of the role of individual vis-a-vis group behaviour.

The definitions put forward by Umstot (1984), Buchanan and Huczynski (1985) and Mullins (1989) use the notion that motivation is made up of three components that are linked in a fairly logical sequence namely: energising behaviour, directing behaviour, and sustaining behaviour. The underlying assumption of individuals being driven to achieve certain goals to satisfy some need(s) in order to achieve a state of balance, gives rise to the basic motivational model. In a simplified form, the motivation model argues that needs result in specific behaviour or action, to achieve a desired goal which provides satisfaction when such needs are fulfilled. This does not however result in an equilibrium, because the fulfilment of one need gives rise to the recognition of others.

Motivation can be seen in the context of wider behavioural theories as explained by the individual's efforts to achieve equilibrium in a constantly changing environment.

A common approach to the study of work motivation (Mitchell,1982; Steers and Porter,1983; Umstot,1984; Buchanan and Huczynski,1985; Mullins,1989), is through an analysis of internal cognitive processes. The insights obtained from understanding the way people feel and think are said to provide a perspective enabling managers to predict behaviour at work. The purpose of this brief discussion is to establish the orthodoxy in these theories. Some focus on content and others emphasise process. A summary of the major contributions to both approaches together with some of the major criticisms will highlight the established orthodoxy in the field.

1 Content theories of work motivation

Content theories of work motivation focus on *what* motivates, and attempt to explain specific things which motivate the individual at work. The major theories in this category include the Hierarchy of Needs model of Maslow (1954), the Achievement Motivation theory of McClelland (1961), the Two-factor theory of Herzberg (1966), and the Modified Need Hierarchy of Alderfer (1972).

Maslow's Needs Hierarchy (1954), is widely recognised as a crucial starting point for studies on work motivation. The principal argument of the Needs Hierarchy suggests that the human being is insatiable, since partial satisfaction of one need simply gives rise to others. The popularity of the Needs Hierarchy among practitioners stems from the notion that the hierarchical progression of needs fulfilment, starting from simple basic survival needs of sustenance and maintenance, to more complex need levels of

self-actualisation, reflecting behavioural tendencies common in human nature. Maslow's work provides a comprehensible intellectual framework in this complex field which managers and laymen of organisational behaviour are able to identify with as attempts are made to address issues of low worker morale.

Reviews of the Needs Hierarchy make two common criticisms. The first refers to flaws in its empirical base (Mullins,1989:306-307), and the second to the basic assertions in Maslow's propositions relating to the classification of basic human needs (Wahba and Bridwell,1976:214-218). Maslow's laboratory testing raises a series of methodological issues including the ethics of research in which humans are the subject of inquiry, the reliability of responses in a research mode that lends itself to subjectivity and bias, and the degree of replicability of such a research instrument in non-clinical situations. In particular, the irrational tendencies of human nature may work against the pursuit of needs in a clearly defined and progressive manner (Wahba and Bridwell,1976). This may explain why the notion of self-actualisation has never been embraced by operational management or organisation theorists (Sievers,1994).

The work of McClelland (1961) on Achievement Motivation theory draws upon Maslow's initial framework, but, takes a broader perspective. The underlying assumption in this model is that needs are shaped to a large extent by socialisation and cultural context. On this basis, McClelland (1961) argues that motivation levels not only vary among individuals but across societies as well. He further stipulates that since motives such as affiliation, power, and achievement could be developed through training, both low-income groups in developed economies and workforces in underdeveloped economies would benefit from such training. Labelled optimistic and

ambitious, McClelland retracted his original stand when he recognised that attempts to change an individual's motivation would be impossible without the wider societal support (Aungles and Parker, 1988:17).

Herzberg's (1966) work on the Two-factor theory perceives two separate but interdependent dimensions in motivation. The first labelled *hygiene factors*, refers to those job aspects which can prevent dissatisfaction but do not influence employees to grow and develop. The second, identified as *motivators*, relates to aspects and activities of the job which encourage such growth. In modifying Maslow's approach, Herzberg argued that the real motivators are neither money nor social needs, but higher order needs such as achievement, recognition, responsibility, the challenge of work itself, and opportunities for growth. Identified as job related issues or 'job content' factors, these are the real motivators in Herzberg's approach (Bhatia, 1985:321).

The common criticisms of this approach are linked to its methodology and its limited application to unskilled workers, whose work provides little scope for challenge. Studies by Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechoter and Platt (1968) on assembly line workers in Britain found that the latter developed an instrumental orientation to work. In other words, work was seen as a means to an end with little meaning in itself. The debates around motivational patterns associated with industrialising societies are seen in studies on the position of the labour force that led to the models of the 'committed worker' (Kerr et al., 1960). The impact of the early stages of industrialism on the motivational patterns of a newly industrialising work force in a context that is characterised by the rapid growth of sweat shop employment encourages this analysis to the point that:

It is generally claimed that industrialism is associated with the evolution of calculative and instrumental attitudes to work, and that the exceptional role of pecuniary motivations in industrial society is economically, socially and

culturally conditioned and reinforced by the spirit and ideology of acquisitiveness. This tendency towards individual acquisition is often contrasted with the values prevailing in pre-industrial societies in which individuals are expected to share their possessions with kinsmen and neighbours (Hirszowicz,1981:73).

In his pioneering study of “modern” workers, Dubin (1962) puts forward the notion of the segmentation of social life. While workers disaggregate their interests between different aspects of social life, the workplace is the arena which is primarily responsible for making a living. Some sociologists recognise that the logic of industrial life adds new dimensions to the meaning of work (Friedman and Havighurst,1954), while others see work in the industrial framework as limiting human potential so that

in some occupations and jobs, the ‘work-is-life’ principle is reinforced by the restrictions of the individual’s work tasks or by the organizational requirements to which they are constantly exposed (Hirszowicz,1981:74).

This is a particular factor in public sector employment, so that what "bureaucratized, formal systems in fact achieve is the reduction of men to the infant position, thus depriving them of the attributes of adult life" (Hirszowicz,1981:76). According to Bhatia (1985), the real motivators are described as opportunities that bring out those values that touch the core of the human spirit which he defines as freedom, the opportunity to do meaningful and challenging work, achievement, growth, and recognition for good work (Bhatia,1985:320).

The critical incident method, which formed the principal research instrument for Herzberg’s (1966) model, asked respondents to identify instances in which they experienced high, low, and no satisfaction on the job. Although the critical incident method has come under heavy criticism for inherent biases in the responses and their interpretation, Herzberg's model survives due to the fact that these critical incidents

convey a feeling of realism. Herzberg's work has had a tremendous influence on the job enrichment movement, and did attempt to develop a systematic approach to the study of work motivation by bridging the gap between theoretical models and work practice. The emphasis on establishing a quality of work life provided the basic essentials for the development of job enrichment and job design approaches to employment, both of which are currently popular in industry.

The work of Alderfer (1972) on the Modified Need Hierarchy involved (as the name suggests), a modification of Maslow's original model which reduced five levels of needs to three, namely existence needs, relatedness needs, and growth needs; commonly referred to as ERG. The underlying argument stipulates that the individual is motivated to satisfy one or more basic need sets, and if an individual's needs at a specific level are blocked, then the satisfaction of needs at the other levels are likely to become the focus of attention. Although this model has enjoyed a sizeable measure of support, it has been argued that its popularity may be attributable to the basic principles inherent in the theories of rational choice (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1977:428-430). For this reason, Alderfer's attempts at simplifying human needs face the same criticisms of a needs approach alluded to earlier in Maslow's work. Again, the worth of such a simplified approach to an understanding of employee motivation in a developing market economy may be questioned, in view of the marked differences inherent in the assumptions of industrialisation in Alderfer's original study, and the stages of partial industrialisation that Fiji is experiencing.

The relevance of this general assessment of content theories to the study of work motivation in Fiji rests on replicability. The Euro-American view of placing great

emphasis on individual performance, contradicts the broader communalistic notions in a developing dualistic economy like Fiji. This is accentuated by the underlying assumption of content theories that low motivation is principally an individual problem that exists in isolation from the institutional context. This dichotomy is not however, unknown to 'western' scholarship. Where social psychologists have argued that low motivation is a problem best addressed at the individual level, industrial sociologists argue that it is a structural problem that requires a reconstitution of institutional processes. The group orientation of communities in a developing market economy like Fiji, implies that unless motivation strategies in the workplace are sensitised to communalistic behaviour, then they are unlikely to enhance worker productivity. The next step of examining theories of work motivation, is an attempt to examine the extent to which process theories provide insights into the relevance for replicability.

2 Process theories of work motivation

Whereas content theories concentrate on *what* motivates, process theories pay special attention to *how* the variables of motivation are interrelated. In attempting to identify this relationship, emphasis is placed on the process of motivation. The main approaches under the process theories reviewed here are; Expectancy theory, Equity theory, Goal theory and Attribution theory.

Although there are several proponents of Expectancy theory, the writers whose works are most widely recognised in the field are Vroom (1964), and Porter and Lawler (1968). The underlying assumption of expectancy theory is that people are influenced by the perceived expectation that an expended effort will have an impact in terms of

desired outcome (Mullins,1989:317). It is generally believed that when these variables are combined, they portray the worker's motivation to do the job (Bhatia,1985:321).

In the context of decision-making, this implies that individual behaviour is a deliberate choice between alternative behaviours. Given that the strength of expectations depends a great deal on past experiences, they may lead to reinforcement of what management might see as both desirable and undesirable behaviour. Where the individual is faced with changing circumstances however, past experience can be an inadequate guide. Depending also on the degree of clarity inherent in perceived relationships between performance and outcome, it has been suggested that motivation is less likely to occur in such situations (Armstrong,1977:136). Although this may well be true in an objective sense, expectations are subjective in the general orientation towards or against change, and this could well be a powerful motivating factor in its own right.

A particular variant of the expectancy approach is seen in Equity theory, usually associated with the work of Adams (1963), which asserts that "people compare the ratio of their inputs (efforts) and outcomes (rewards) to the input-outcome ratios of other individuals who are viewed as comparable to themselves" (Bowditch and Buono,1985:67). Social relationships are therefore evaluated on the basis of perceived equity in the expectations of outcome. Equity occurs when individuals perceive that the rewards they receive for effort expended are on par with their peers (Mullins,1989:322-323). This model implies that the consequences of inequity influence individual behaviour. Like many qualitative phenomena however, it is difficult to draw definitive parameters around individual perception. In terms of developing consistency, the biggest concern for management using this approach is ensuring that individual and organisational perceptions do not markedly diverge.

This potential divergence is addressed in goal theory as put forward by Locke (1968), which emphasises setting and achieving goals in the process of motivation. The practical implications for the manager requires that attention be paid to the process of goal-setting, identification of specific performance goals, accurate and timely feedback, and participation in goal-setting. The broad implications for management systems are seen in worker participation, devolution of authority and responsibility, and the dismantling of established power networks and practices that such an approach would strive to achieve in the belief that these are the essential ingredients to enhancing productivity. For these purposes, goal theory has been seen as having the potential to highly motivate employees who see themselves as crucial partners with management (Bowditch and Buono,1985). This may prove particularly difficult however in situations of authoritarian and paternalistic labour-management relations characteristic of developing market economies. In these situations, suggestions of greater employee participation are likely to be met with a great deal of hostility and resistance from key stakeholders who control and direct economic growth.

Attribution theory seeks to address the influence of the environment on individual behaviour in a different way. Kelly (1973) argued that behaviour is influenced by the sum total of internal and external forces perceived by the individual, and suggests three basic criteria determining whether motivation is an internal or external attribute (Kelly,1973:110). These are distinctiveness, consensus and consistency. The implications of Attribution theory are that individuals who are more inclined towards internal control will tend to believe that their performance levels are a result of their own abilities and skills. On the other hand, those persons who are oriented towards

external control are more likely to believe that their performance is determined by factors outside their sphere of influence (Mullins,1989:326).

The relevance of these theories for Fiji is in the options that the constructs offer in moulding and directing a partially industrialising workforce towards greater worker productivity. The content and process theories complement each other in their models that examine the extent to which individual effort and performance are influenced by variations in work environment. Among the industrially developed countries, experiences of economic growth challenge the early models of work motivation. The changing demographics of the workforce, coupled with globalisation trends of structural adjustment, are also likely to do this. An examination of some of these views may prove relevant to Fiji because of their orientation towards the impacts of change in work organisation on employee motivation.

Reshaping the form: new perspectives in work motivation thinking

The work motivation literature shows that as economic growth results in greater differentiation within and between organisations, a parallel process takes place in respect of employee motivation to work. As a result, there has been an increase in alternative perspectives to the study of work motivation. These continue, however, to draw their conceptual frameworks from the pioneering studies of content and process theories dealt with earlier.

What motivates people to work? Although the question is simple, the wide ranging answers by scholars indicate that the answer is complex. The logic of the sociological analysis of industrialisation leads to a complex view of work in which

The question of how people are motivated to work is ... directly related to the nature of social and organizational structures within which men pursue their productive activities. Although most social scientists would certainly agree that different methods for motivating the labour force are usually ntermixed, they do not fail to notice that it is the social organization of work and the power structure, that largely determine the motives and their effectiveness in a given society (Hirszowicz,1981:73).

Two approaches are selected here for detailed discussion: contractual obligations motivationally related to inducement-contribution theory, and outcome-oriented behaviour, and expectancy theory. These are chosen because of their relevance to the study and correlation with important phases in Fiji's industrialisation. These approaches make possible an integrated perspective, and include relevant arguments from management, industrial sociology and social psychology. As far as work motivation is concerned, the most important issue in contract theory is its ability to explain the mechanisms by which commitment to organisational goals can be secured. Despite the limitation of this theory in not being able to distinguish between motivation *to* work and motivation *at* work, the question of how to motivate people at work remains valid, even if they operate within contractual relationships (Hirszowicz,1981:78-79).

The integration of expectancy theory and goal-setting theory is seen by some as an exciting development (Evans,1986:204-205). It suggests that goal-setting has its main effects on motivation through people's pride or shame in performance and their sense of efficacy or feeling that they can function at the desired level of performance (Bowditch and Buono,1985:75). Given the role of 'face' or 'shame' in some non-European societies, and all Pacific Islands, this latter approach implies key societal norms which set acceptable behavioural patterns in a unit of production. If one were to view the workplace as a socio-economic unit of production, then this integrated approach has great potential for transformation. Workplace ethics directed at productivity levels that

are commensurate with the expectations of an equivalent socio-economic production unit would be subject to the normative code of employees who share a common territorial interest in the continuity of the workplace. This has been seen to result in phenomena described by Taylor (1911) as 'systematic soldering' on the shopfloor.

Studies of management in situations of change, however, show that disillusion among employees has increased due to organisational turbulence. In market oriented economies, commentators suggest that the extent of changing relations within and between industrial organisations have been the most challenging issues for management with the resultant lack of job security, resistance to change, involuntary departures and conflict resulting from mergers, takeovers, contracting out, technological change, and financial loss, contributing in part to employee demotivation (Brewer,1994:8)

In an attempt to address the issue of low employee morale and growing disenchantment, Brewer (1994) suggests the notion of organisational citizenship and a process aimed at harnessing individual contributions for more productive and reliable performance of the total workforce. The concept of organisational citizenship attempts to balance the social responsibility of organisations with the capacity of its workers, and is perceived as having the potential of being a truly motivating force for employees (Brewer,1994:9).

Another theme of organisational change which emerged in the 1970s in the United States and which policymakers, researchers, and practitioners recognise as having an impact on worker productivity, is the notion of *diversity* in the workforce. Changing demographics of the American workforce including participation rates of non-anglo American workers and women have seen organisations implement diversity training

programs that emphasise cultural differences and reduced gender and ethnic stereotypes (Rosenfeld, Giacalone and Riordan,1994:602).

The motivational implication of this derives from impression management theory or self-presentation theory. This refers to the many ways by which individuals attempt to control the impressions others have of them, in terms of their behaviour, motivations, morality, and personal attributes like dependability, intelligence, and future potential. The assumption is that a basic human desire is to be viewed by others in a favourable manner. It has been suggested that this may be a particularly strong motive among ethnic minorities, women, and immigrants because of a need to please majority group members in positions of power (Rosenfeld, Giacalone and Riordan,1994:602). Therefore, an organisation which accepts cultural difference may achieve a higher level of motivation.

The potential of impression management theory for promoting pluralism and more effective interactions, has implications in Fiji. Managers must however, first accept that the majority of employees live a dualistic existence in which individuals perform multiple economic and social roles. At a more general level, the changing application of organisational behaviour in modern organisations of market oriented economies indicates that large-scale theories are less popular, and the move seems to be towards more limited theories targetting particular groups of employees (Aungles and Parker,1988:17).

The implication of this is that any interventionist measure seen as successful for any one organisation, has no guarantee of success if transferred elsewhere. Proponents of this

diagnostic approach also suggest that unless organisational problems are sufficiently diagnosed and analysed, interventions to meet those problems are likely to result in frustration and disenchantment with organisational behaviour related concepts and theories, rather than personal satisfaction and organisational improvements (Bowditch and Buono,1985:324). The point for this study is that organisational behaviour in general, and motivation in particular, is subject to many local factors. An exclusively macro-level focus is likely to completely miss the relevant details that mark the exceptional qualities of motivation in any particular workplace.

Many of these theories have been developed in relation to private sector industries. The discussion now turns to some of the issues that face work and motivation in the public sector.

Work motivation in the public sector

The discussion of issues of work and motivation in the public sector aims to focus on those areas of public sector management that have implications for locating work motivation thinking as a strategic tool for managing human resource capacities. References to Britain and Australia are particularly relevant for this study, in view of the many parallels between these bureaucratic traditions and those deriving from Fiji's administrative colonial heritage. A particular emphasis is placed on those areas of public sector management that directly impinge upon the potential of employee motivation as a strategic management tool for enhanced productivity.

Recent European experiences in the area of public sector reform (Eliassen and Kooiman,1993), highlight important questions pertaining to change in this area. These

include public-private distinctions and the implications of transferability between the two domains (Strand,1993), the flexibility of public management culture to accomodate changes in structures and practices that reform demands (Metcalf and Richards,1993), the implications for managing human resources in the public sector, and the overriding sensitivity to the role of the state in the light of changing perceptions regarding state-market dynamics (Yntema,1993).

The relevance of these concerns lies in the generic principles of organisation and management that public administrative systems ultimately address, irrespective of nationality or the status of industrialisation. In fact, in developing market economies, these same concerns may be amplified by the enhanced role the state plays in controlling economic growth, compared to a generally weaker local private sector.

A key feature of the reform of public administrative systems relates to the nature of bureaucracy. As an institutional arrangement characterised by centralised organisational arrangements in an authoritarian work context, this dominant organisational form holds significant implications for any planned initiatives to enhance the efficient management of formalised systems. In attempting to address this concern, Yntema's (1993) use of an 'Integrator Model' for work on the management of human resources in the public sector, provides incisive comparisons on the European experience by suggesting a proactive and integrated approach. This involves a flexible and innovative management culture that integrates the traditional values of public administration with a revamped focus on the role of line managers (Yntema,1993:197). While the traditional roles of administrator, producer and entrepreneur that public managers perform are duly acknowledged, an additional role is further suggested. Yntema argues that while

managers ought to be “measured by the efficiency and effectiveness of the units they manage”, their Integrator role produces “an optimal output with the human resources input of the unit in question” (Yntema,1993:199). The manager’s tasks include motivating, conciliating, coordinating, coaching, evaluating and acting as personnel authority (Yntema,1993:199).

The relevance of Yntema’s (1993) work is that it provides a fairly practical approach to the issue of work motivation in the public sector. In addition, the impediments faced in instituting HRM thinking in the public sector and the attempts to reconstitute traditional personnel practices to a more strategic level within mainstream management operations, also face public administration in developing market economies. The general lack of preparedness amongst public managers, resistance to change and the fear amongst the traditionally trained, noted by Yntema, are familiar from developing economy experience (Yntema,1993:197).

Added to this are the broad notions of culture and ideology and the impact they are likely to have on public sector reform. Metcalfe and Richards (1993) who also make reference to the European experience, make the following observation:

What should distinguish public management cultures is the value they place on capacities for organizational learning, adaptation and flexible response to new problems and priorities. ...Public management is not just the management of change, it is a learning process. The capacity for evolving new solutions and learning from experience provides the core values and assumptions round which a concept of excellence in public management can develop (Metcalfe and Richards,1993:108).

While this may sound prescriptive, both scholars point out some of the common misleading assumptions and expectations that arise from the situation of culture cited above. The first of is that quite often public management is synonymous with private

management, and as a result, targets for reform are selected “because they fit the solutions available, rather than develop new solutions to fit public problems” (Metcalf and Richards, 1993:113). In this light, these scholars argue that the key distinguishing feature for public management lies in an “explicit acknowledgement of responsibility for dealing with structural problems at the level of a system as a whole” (Metcalf and Richards, 1993:115). This argument locates employee motivation in a structural understanding of organisational operation. Here we can also see the centrality of the task of matching culture to function. In terms of public sector organisation the argument is that “...at present, governments have administrative cultures which give a high priority to procedural conformity rather than management cultures which give a high priority to achieving results” (Metcalf and Richards, 1993:112). The range of contrasts between an administrative culture and a management culture which portray the underlying goals and values for these two key structural forms include

a culture of subservience versus a culture of responsibility; a culture of continuity vs a culture of innovation; a culture of propriety regardless of costs vs a culture of cost consciousness; a culture of stability vs a culture of progressive improvement (Metcalf and Richards, 1993:112).

Although the logical extension of such an organisational culture approach implies that the public sector will exhibit the varied organisational forms of many subcultures, it is also possible to draw more general conclusions. Here the practitioners and proponents of public sector reform argue that the transfer of private sector practices to the public sector must involve a learning process that integrates the key values and ideology of public service, with the goals of increased management efficiency.

The core values round which public management cultures should develop include learning, experimentation, adaptability and flexibility. ...It is within this context that governments can draw on business experience in an intelligent and discriminating way and identify areas where they must innovate or learn from each other rather than imitate business practice (Metcalf and Richards, 1993:124).

These notions of innovativeness and learning which are key features of HRM thinking and which are strongly advocated in studies of contemporary European experiences (Eliassen and Kooiman,1993), have significant implications for this study. The first is that while the particularities of Fiji's partially industrialising status and its dual economic system provides key obstacles to public sector reform, the European experience has shown that at the level of the organisation, it is still possible to introduce HRM initiatives through an evolutionary process of learning and adjustment. In such a situation, work motivation becomes more feasible when it is integrated within the total HRM package, rather than treating it as an isolated variable of management and organisational change.

The problems of reforming public sector organisations within a tradition derived from the British model can be seen in the Australian government's attempts to introduce efficiency and productivity as criteria for organisational effectiveness. A brief discussion of some of these initiatives will show the degree of relevance for the Fijian situation.

Commentators have suggested that the debates on efficiency and effectiveness in the public sector are reflected in most of the intellectual discussions that attempt to rationalise subjective notions of good governance and public sector management (Eliassen and Kooiman,1993). In Australia, the push for economic growth in an environment geared towards a free market system, has placed a great deal of pressure on the public sector to produce levels of productivity that warrant continued state support. Problems of measuring public sector productivity include the misconception that performance indicators must be quantitative (McGaurr,1987:11).

Another major difficulty in the Australian reform experience has been management attitudes and the notion that slower productivity growth in the public sector do not reveal anything about actual performance (Forsyth,1987:82). From an HRM perspective the key “to improving efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector, will be a change in employer and government attitudes, to one which is far more supportive of their employees” (Robson,1987:44). This was recognised by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers. For public and private sector managers who are part of the emerging industrialising elites, Kerr and his colleagues argue that while

cultural factors, and particularly family, class, and race, also have an early impact...on the early development of management by influencing the access to managerial positions and the authority system of management...eventually the universal imperative - the need for competent, professionalized management prevails (Kerr et al. 1960:164).

A major constraint to such managerial competence in the public sector is the lack of an appropriate incentive structure. This compares poorly with the market discipline which underlies the theory of the firm and “tends to force productivity improvements in the private sector, because productivity, prices, market shares, jobs, profits and investment tend to move in a virtuous spiral” (Beale,1987:47). Although ideal markets rarely achieve this level of perfection, commentary on the experiences of highly industrialised countries indicate that this is generally true of the private sector (Beale,1987:48).

In the public sector where the key interest groups of the public, workers, managers and politicians share the productivity increases of any program, it has been suggested that there are often different expectations attached to the benefits from higher productivity (Beale,1987:47). The underlying assumption of this argument is reflected in the inconsistencies of incentives for public sector workers. The fundamental problem is that “staff tend not to link their continued income and employment with productivity

improvement” (Beale,1987:47). In most cases it has been seen that motivation to increase productivity tends to be influenced more by workers’ perception of the public as ‘clients’ rather than as ‘taxpayers’ (Beale,1987:47).

In Fiji the challenges facing the public sector lie in its ability to re-mould the vestiges of an institutional infrastructure that have been strongly influenced by an entrenched colonial legacy. The latter has recently been highlighted in a Fiji economic report commissioned by the Australian government which concluded that although

...uncertainty about constitutional and political rights, property rights and economic policies are major problems..., for investors, the time and frustration in dealing with numerous government departments was identified as the most critical immediate problem (AusAID,1995:9).

The conclusions of the ILO regional round-table conference held in Suva, Fiji, emphasised a non-technical approach to productivity (ILO,1995). Whereas the initial focus of productivity was based on a quantitative measurement that determined a ratio between input and output, this conference heard that contemporary circumstances emanating from globalisation trends, require an expansion of this original framework so that productivity was seen as “a driving force or the dynamism to develop and upgrade the quality of industrial activities” (ILO,1995:2), encompassing qualitative aspects such as client satisfaction and cooperation.

With regards to the need for cooperation and consultation amongst stakeholders, the Victorian experience in Australia reflected this. A revamping of individual and collective responsibility with improvements in public sector performance signalled the end of cherished traditions and practices. The emerging system placed more emphasis on the ability to make significant choices and brought new meaning to the notion of

accountability. The point has been made that in Victoria, the transition was made possible through “a creative joining of process and analysis” (Smith,1987:37).

Like their Australian counterparts, it is widely recognised amongst policy-makers and practitioners in Fiji, that the way forward to enhanced productivity levels in the public sector, will be through cooperation, consultation, and compromises amongst key stakeholders.

Implications for economic growth in Fiji

This theoretical overview has implications for the assumptions pertaining to the issue of how workforce management practices are shaped. This section of the thesis synthesises what has been discussed so far, and highlights some issues that have emerged in terms of the central focus of the thesis on workforce motivation with particular application to situations of economic change. In essence, four main issues emerge from this chapter.

They are:

- 1) the degree of applicability of work motivation theory;
- 2) the absence of an all encompassing theory of work motivation;
- 3) the notion of the "best-fit" approach, and;
- 4) the implication of work motivation theory for public sector management.

The first issue is that the dominant theoretical constructs have a western bias, with a tendency towards a context that is directed at the promotion of free enterprise within a societal norm of individualist ethics. The concern that immediately comes to the fore revolves around the question of applicability of these scenarios to Third World contexts. This is an area with which commentators have struggled since Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers applied the convergence thesis to employment relations in the late 1950s. The weakness of this approach, which sought to extrapolate the American

experience internationally, lay in its lack of recognition of the particularities of national experience (Hess,1986).

Put briefly, the convergence approach argued that the principal differences between nations stem from different stages of economic development, and that once disparities have disappeared, a common pattern of cultural and political life emerges as the inevitable result of standardising and all-embracing industrialisation (Hirsztowicz,1981:8). In its milder form, convergence theory assumes some basic similarities among all industrial societies and seeks to single out those factors in which similarities are most pronounced. The arguments that purport to establish the plausibility of convergence theory are reflected in the following factors:

- 1) the existence of 'core' elements in industrial systems (Feldman and Moore,1962:146),
- 2) increasing structural consistency as countries enter into advanced stages of industrialisation (Goldthorpe,1964:97; Chodak,1973:55),
- 3) changing social structures to meet the requirements of the industrial system of production and distribution (Kerr et.al.,1973:18), and,
- 4) increased complexity and interdependency in the course of development and increased differentiation, as elements of industrial society become more interdependent (Smelser,1968:26).

Kerr and his colleagues sum up the arguments for convergence theory in these terms:

...Industrial systems regardless of the cultural background out of which they emerge and the path they originally follow, tend to become more alike over an extended period of time; that systems, whether under middle-class or communist or dynastic leadership, move towards 'pluralistic industrialism' where the state, the enterprise or association, and the individual all share a substantial degree of power and influence over productive activities (Kerr et.al.,1973:296).

The application of basically 'western' theories to Fiji is not only possible but may also be seen as desirable and/or inevitable. This might be particularly possible because of Fiji's conscious decision to emulate western models, characterised by attempts to

rejuvenate stagnating economic growth through trade, and the recognition by policy-makers that national economic policies need to be more compatible with global market arrangements. It could be expected that this will eventually result in varying degrees of institutional reform and greater interdependency amongst the groups that directly control economic activity.

Along the lines of convergence theory, it would be assumed that as Fiji moves towards industrialisation, the application of these constructs in a non-westernised context would no longer be a central issue, as the industrialising system attains a level of compatibility with older industrialised nations. While there is a logic to such an argument, it is simplistic. The theoretical literature reveals work motivation as a highly complex area even in western societies with their long history of wage labour, technological innovation, and market-oriented production. It seems likely that this complexity would increase rather than decrease, in situations of economic development where social relations in general and work relations in particular may be expected to be affected by non- and even anti-capitalist rationalities and tendencies (Hess,1990b:2).

This concern has been alluded to by scholars writing on industrialism who point out that constraints faced by industrialising societies constitute major dilemmas of economic growth, and will have far-reaching implications for the extent to which productive human resources can be maximised (Hirszowicz,1981:21-22). In particular, it is possible to see motivational approaches in management theories, which were largely developed in the United States, as an expression of the extreme individualism, self-interest and even masculinity so characteristic of American culture (Sievers,1994:18). Despite the claims to a generic nature of work motivation theory, and its attempts to

maintain an element of universality, its applicability in any context will be largely determined by the cultural parameters of the host society. Furthermore, work motivation has an ambivalent status even in the management practices of developed market economies. It might therefore be expected that work motivation would command even less attention in an economic and cultural situation less conducive to the market oriented assumptions upon which work motivation thinking is based.

For some scholars of social change, Japan's economic development has proved to be an interesting, intellectual challenge precisely because it demonstrated the resistance of a non-European culture to the innovative ideas of European industry. Capitalistic development in a non-western setting shattered many notions about economic development. For instance, the Protestant ethic which played an important role in capitalist development in the West was irrelevant in Japan. Subsequent development of the Asian tiger economies has led some Asian scholars to identify cultural characteristics seen as conducive to Asian productivity:

...Asians quickly learn that although the details of human behaviour need not be western in form if a high level of economic affluence is to be achieved, there is ample recognition that the virtues of thriftiness and hard work, so much espoused in Confucian teaching, are by themselves insufficient for rapid economic growth (Chong-Yah, 1982:53).

The point for this thesis is that although the peculiarities of Fijian society pose obstacles for the type of economic growth that the country aims to achieve, experiences of industrialised non-European cultures reveal a potential in combining societal values with the requirements and value expectations of a market oriented framework.

The second issue is the absence of an all encompassing theory. Although the different models attempt to explain motivation at work, none is conclusive. In particular, the

findings of the content theories basically reflect the complexities of the motivation process and the difficulty encountered in trying to universalise such a qualitative phenomena. The approaches developed by Aungles and Parker highlight the limitations that the respective approaches to work motivation have had. They argue that notions of homeostasis, causal behaviour, hidden motives, goal-directed behaviour, relative judgement and the question of money as being the primary motive, all require reappraisal before any of these approaches will be effective in a given work environment (Aungles and Parker,1988:19-21).

The third issue relates to the 'best-fit' approach. A major limitation in this argument is that the implied relationship between individuals and organisations reflects a mechanical model that pervades early studies of human relationships, human identity, and human interchange. This in turn, has influenced the development of mechanistic models and paradigms in the mainstream management and leadership discourse. Such an approach overlooks significant aspects of disorder and/or conflict between and among stakeholders. The neglect of conflict creates a void in motivation theories because it fails to reflect the real tensions between individuals, groups, and organisations. It has been argued that the increasing popularity and appeal of motivation theories, arises precisely from their inherent reductionism, over-simplification, fragmentation, and the ambivalent fictitious nature of their central concepts, which combine to create an appeal based on their congruence with the experience and aspirations of industrialised communities (Sievers,1994:7).

The implication of work motivation theory for public sector management is a fourth concern. In the above discussion, it has been seen that motivation theories approach the

complexities of social reality from within the parameters of satisfaction and effectiveness. This has been reinforced by the underlying assumption that the main goal of work enterprises centre around increasing effectiveness rather than maintaining the status quo. As such, the goal of optimal satisfaction is reflected by the fact that motivational approaches in particular, and organisation behaviour in general, are often influenced by concern for behaviour in primarily profit-oriented organisations with no inkling of the work environment of other organisational forms.

For public sector agencies, with multi-faceted goals and at least a partial service-orientation, the move to adopt strategies of work motivation that emphasise optimal satisfaction and increased efficiency may not be easy. Not only is productivity an elusive concept in such a context, but bureaucratic organisational culture mitigates against flexible work practices. Nonetheless management theorists see an inevitable trend in which the changing role of individuals in organisations will be increasingly recognised by even the most conservative echelons in public management systems, as a viable option in the move to enhance human resource capacities (Drucker, 1974).

Chapter 3

Work motivation in developing market economies

Introduction

Having looked at work and motivation in developed market economies, this chapter draws out the experiences of developing market economies. The chapter begins by looking at the notions of work in the pre-industrial phase and the impact of capitalist expansion on instituting new systems of work relationships. Following this, an overview of the early wage earning experiences reflected in selected area studies will show the impact of institutional processes through colonialism, in developing a culture of work and a workforce. Insights into contemporary experiences of work motivation illustrate the limitations placed on management by local necessities. In particular, the discussion on productivity approaches that follow, expands upon the preceeding analysis by looking at the institutional challenges of utilising work motivation thinking as a strategic management tool. The concluding focus on the public sector draws out any significant difference in perception and practice of motivational strategies that may be identified as peculiar to the public sector.

Work and motivation in the pre-industrial state

Insights into the perception and practice of work together with the underlying assumptions that determine motivation to work in the pre-industrial context of developing market economies will be confined to the Pacific. The relevance of this Pacific focus is that since many of the island states are in the transitional throes of

industrialising their economies, one can expect to find the existence of a large rural subsistence economy alongside a small and growing market oriented economy. The value systems of the rural subsistence sector constitute perspectives and practices that are interpreted as being at the roots of Pacific traditions and customs prior to outside intervention through European and missionary contact (Leckie and Munro, 1990).

It may be expected that this background will impact on a partially industrialising workforce in a developing economy which is not yet fully committed to the goals of the enterprise in an emerging market-oriented production system. Since the major focus of this thesis is on motivation in the workplace, reference is made to the notion of work as interpreted in developing market economies in the Pacific which like Fiji, reflect features of; smallness, a post-colonial legacy and dichotomous forms of tradition versus modernity existing within a framework of economic dualism.

The early anthropological studies of traditional and non-market based economies (Malinowski, 1922; Evans-Pritchard, 1940; Hoebel, 1960; Applebaum, 1984), make reference to the tradition of work as it was perceived and practised in these societies. In essence, the fusion of work into the cosmology of society itself, meant that as traditional societies became exposed to the forces of change, the structures and normative frameworks that provided the basis for the unit(s) of production were challenged and reshaped to meet the new work demands and needs of a changing society.

In the broad international context, Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers (1960) recognised the very same conflict of interests that emerged between the old order and the new as societies embarked upon the road to industrialisation. An important observation that

they make refers to the interrelationship between five cultural elements which they claim as impacting upon managers and the managed in an industrialising context. These cultural elements are; the family system, class and race, religious and ethical considerations, legal concepts and, the notion of the nation-state (Kerr et al., 1960:78). The relevance of this observation for the study is reflected in the similar experiences of conflict that these same elements have on the industrialising process in Fiji's transitional state of development.

In the Fijian context, each of these elements have significantly influenced the extent to which work motivation thinking may be used as a strategic tool for maximising the contribution of human resources to economic growth. Whilst the nature of the extended family and communalistic notions of existence influence motives to work and incentives to invest, social class and ethnicity have influenced how individuals perceive themselves and their standing in the Fijian social order. A further complexity is that the latter may not necessarily be commensurate with the actual social order as it exists and operates in the global marketplace; an economic arena into which through the process of enhanced economic growth, Fiji is being drawn into more and more.

With regards to the impact of religion and ethical considerations, these value orientations have infiltrated the normative frameworks of an existing social order in Fiji through the medium of Christianity. The latter inculcates a paradoxical dogma regarding work and thrift on the one hand, and ethical issues related to the sins of consumptive material wealth and eternal salvation accruing from material deprivation on the other. In the context of a nation-state like Fiji which outwardly proclaims itself to be a Christian

state, such religious teachings have in turn influenced individual perceptions and interpretations regarding one's calling in the world of paid work.

The two final elements of legality and the notion of the nation-state become even more complicated in Fiji as reflected in the current dilemma facing policy makers and bureaucrats who are required to pursue economic growth in a political context that is adamant on preserving the paramountcy of indigenous and communalistic interests at the expense of a more individualised and entrepreneurial mode. Although the pros and cons of such a political argument are currently on-going through the mechanism of a constitutional review, the Fijian experience shows that the particularities of a socio-cultural context, which in this case constitutes a historical legacy of British colonialism overlaid by dualistic modes of existence, determines the degree of success of new ideas for change. In this regard, work motivation thinking as a set of new ideas would be no exception as the different cultural elements impact upon the relationship between managers and employees in the workplace.

Moore, Leckie and Munro's (1990) collection of writings on *Labour in the South Pacific* presents a comprehensive although predominantly class analysis of the respective Pacific island work experiences. Beginning with an overview of pre-capitalist labour in the South Pacific, the various country case studies that follow provide interesting comparative insights into the role that the early plantation economies have had on the lifestyles of a traditional subsistence populace. It is apparent that inherent within these country experiences are common themes which not only "highlight the various cultural dimensions and specificities of labour" (Leckie and Munro, 1990:xv) but reflect "shared themes of struggle and survival which linked Pacific islanders as

workers” (ibid:xv). The relevance of these historical insights for the study of employee motivation in Fiji is seen in the way key stakeholders in the form of colonial governments, companies, and ethnic groups which provided part of the early labour supply, developed a mutually reinforcing network of interdependent relationships that were to later set the basis of what appears to be the emergence of a benevolent work culture.

In attempting to determine the characteristics of work in the subsistence nature of Pacific island communities, use has been made of studies in social anthropology of pre-capitalist African societies (Meillassoux, 1972; Rey, 1975; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1975) which suggest a mode of production analysis as a tool for explaining “the forces of production and the relations of production in a given social formation” (Naidu and Leckie, 1990:249). This same conceptual framework has been used to suggest the existence of two modes of production in Melanesia and Polynesia. While the Melanesian societies are characterised by a communal or lineage mode of production, reflected in the control of the old over the labour power of the young, and the drudgery of women’s productive and reproductive roles, the chiefly or tributary mode characteristic of Polynesia is seen in the dominance of the chiefly classes (Leckie and Munro, 1990:xix). Even though class analysis has been used to interpret the production modes of pre-capitalist Pacific societies in this particular study, it has been duly acknowledged that kinship plays a significant role in the articulation of these modes of production in Pacific Island communities (Leckie and Munro, 1990).

In linking this to the study, it may be expected that the combination of Melanesian and Polynesian features in Fijian society, lends itself to the existence of both lineage and

tributary modes of production in the subsistence sector. The nature of these subsistence production modes on worker productivity in a developing market economy is bound to directly impact on the level of motivation in the workplace. This is especially so in the context of a partially industrialising workforce, where the motives to work so as to fulfill a range of communal obligations within the social network, are perceived as part of the core components of an economic necessity that is aligned with and conducive to, the norms of maintenance and survival in the community (Ravuvu, 1987:4).

In the context of developing market economies, this implies that the motive to work is multifaceted incorporating an interdependent relationship between social and economic values. In addition it is also possible to assume that the kinds of motives that determine employee behaviour in the workplace are partially influenced by the individual's interpretation of his or her status in the social order as perceived and upheld in the normative frameworks of the community of which he or she is a member. Of equal significance is the fact that this process of interpretation is a dynamic activity which evolves and redines itself, within the myriad of social groupings with which individuals align themselves as they periodically traverse both the subsistence and non-subsistence sectors of the developing market economy (Chandra, 1996b).

Major differences in perceptions of work between non-market and market societies may be seen in the areas of; time orientation, sense of work, relationship of work to the wider society, ownership and control (Applebaum, 1984:24-38). It has been argued that in non-market societies, where the locus of economic activity is the small rural village, which in itself was a self-contained economic unit (Reinhart, 1975:24), the individual does not separate basic economic needs from religious and social needs (Herzberg,

Mausner and Snyderman, 1959:121). In such situations, work is entrenched in the total cultural fabric and in existing institutions of society (Applebaum, 1984:2-8). This implies a sense of mutual interdependence and unity in which work is perceived as a part of life and not a separate sphere of activity. This may be seen as the converse of the situation of industrial societies in which social structures are geared to production and indeed to the reproduction of a capable and quiescent workforce (Hirszowicz, 1981:162-165). But it also has implications for the human relationships within the work environment. The implication for this Fiji study lies in examining the extent to which traditional work ethics are incorporated into non-traditional work environments and the effect this has on shaping workforce attitudes and behaviour.

In an overview of pre-capitalist labour in the Pacific, Leckie and Munro (1990) highlights the subtle differences amongst the three island groupings of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, in terms of production systems, types of work, gender division of labour, women's participation, degree of specialisation, rhythms of work and mythological associations of work types (Leckie and Munro, 1990:xvii-xxvii). In general it can be seen that although gender and age tend to be crucial determinants in the division of labour in these communities, the procedures for laying down the ground rules and ensuring that the social system becomes a viable socio-economic unit of production, are controlled by a complex network of interdependent kinship groups.

Having briefly examined the nature of work in the pre-industrial period of developing market economies, the next step in establishing the background to work attitudes in Fiji, would be to gain insights on the extent to which the emergent market economy has

impacted upon the development of a cash culture and the implications this may have had on the motives to work in a developing system of market-oriented production.

Work and motivation in the emergent market-oriented economy

The experiences of work in developing market economies of the South Pacific have been the subject of a plethora of studies using multidisciplinary approaches in areas such as; the conditions of labour during colonialism (Leckie, 1990a), the experiences of indenture (Gillion, 1962; Naidu, 1980; Lal, 1986; Shameem, 1987) and the development of industrial labour (Hess, 1990a). While none focus specifically on the early experiences of work motivation, findings that pertain to the motivation of individuals in their newly acquired role as paid workers in an emerging market economy, may be drawn from these political, anthropological, economic and historical studies.

Theories which have been popular in the South Pacific and which attempt to explain the confusion and conflict that has emerged through the process of European colonialism and capitalist expansion are offered by the school of underdevelopment and world systems debates (Wallerstein, 1974). Pinches and Lakha's (1987) collection of studies on issues of social change emanating from industrialisation in selected Asian and Pacific countries, introduces these debates by noting that

Much of this literature has failed to deal adequately with the changing and uneven nature of capitalist penetration. In particular, it has underplayed the economic, cultural and political differences found within the third world and has neglected to examine the variable manner in which particular societies and classes have responded to capitalist expansion... Recent industrial growth in a number of Asian countries has also thrown some doubt on the explanatory merit of such bipolar divisions. Perhaps most significantly, these theorists have been preoccupied with the global system of economic exchange, and thus have failed to examine the experiences and practices of working people as they are affected by capitalist expansion. Their analysis of class formation and class relations has tended therefore to be somewhat superficial and deterministic (Pinches and Lakha, 1987:1-2).

The merit of such an argument is that it reinforces the existence of an alternative perspective to a development orthodoxy. In essence this alternative perspective acknowledges that mainstream discourse surrounding underdevelopment placed little emphasis in recognising the uniqueness of developing market economies both across distinct geographical regions and even within the same territorial confines of national boundaries.

The case studies that constitute Pinches and Lakha's (1987) collection highlight the impact of social changes on the lifestyles of workers and by implication, on their motivation to work. This case study approach reveals parallels to the argument of this thesis. In this context of changing employee behaviour created by situations of economic development, human resources management may present an alternative to the orthodoxies of development that has the potential for maximising human resource capacities for economic growth. A consideration of the area studies pertaining specifically to work experiences in the early plantation boom years in the South Pacific, will be used here for the purpose of locating the dynamics of work and motivation thinking as market economies began to develop.

In attempting to explain the importance of developing an industrial labour force for economic development, Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers (1960) argue that whilst this is determined by the interrelatedness of four key processes (recruitment, commitment, advancement and maintenance (Kerr, et al., 1960:166)), it is securing a level of commitment sustainable for economic growth which has proven to be a major obstacle in the industrialising experiences of many developing countries.

The implication of this for the study is that in the context of a partially industrialised economy like Fiji, the potential for maximising the full capacities of a partially committed workforce is dependent on the extent to which management, employer associations, trade unions and employees themselves acknowledge the fact that in such a transitional phase of development, this workforce is highly mobile and transient in their patterns of work behaviour. In addition to being motivated for their own personal advancement, many indigenous workers are also motivated by the general communal good for the maintenance of which they have a customary obligation (Ravuvu, 1987:3-4).

In Fijian culture this is characterised by a passive fatalistic notion in which individual destiny consists of a pre-determined life path that needs to be trodden as a way of earning one's position in the broader realm of the collective well-being (Ravuvu, 1987). Entering the arena of paid employment may indeed be perceived as one of many routes that enable the individual to fulfil a range of social obligations. As these are conducted mainly through the ritual exchange of cash and kind, income from employment has an obvious part to play. These motivations may have little or nothing to do with the work itself and even the value of money may be perceived in terms of the potential equivalence that it has in acquiring the traditional gifts that are the actual currency of the rituals of distribution and exchange (Leckie and Munro, 1990:xviii). These notions of existence which are common features of peasant societies (Applebaum, 1984b) led some scholars to suggest that the inability of Pacific Islanders to differentiate between the spiritual and physical worlds often resulted in a multifaceted approach to motivation which was difficult to comprehend (Leckie and Munro, 1990:xviii).

In a broader but related study which focused on the impact of wage labour on cultural practices and ideas, Stevenson (1987) provides insights on the common concerns of communities across the globe as capitalist penetration and expansion brought in unprecedented social changes that affected relationships between; people and the environment, all kinds of bonding mechanisms between and amongst social groupings, key stakeholders in production systems and ultimately, lifestyles. Of particular interest to this study is the reference to Melanesian Pidgin in Papua New Guinea in which the terms that are used to label the different types of work are described in the following manner.

Wokgaden refers to the practices and way of life associated with traditional horticulture. It denotes those relationships and values connected with growing one's own food, reciprocity, kinship and being able to engage in gift exchange...*Wokbisinis* refers to this activity, one's intention is to cultivate the soil so as to obtain money...*Wokmani* refers to that domain of life where one sells one's labour power for money (Stevenson, 1987:35).

If one were to apply the traditional arguments of Needs Theory to this perceptual framework, it can be seen that the process of satisfying human needs is not pursued by Stevenson's Melanesians in the way it was by Maslow's Americans. In the Papua New Guinean study, motives to work expanded and overlapped into other spheres and there was an inherent assumption of a highly mobile and transient workforce who like their Fijian counterparts, periodically traversed the rural subsistence sector and the urban market sector in the fulfilment of multiple and interrelated needs.

Although the boundaries amongst these types of work may not necessarily be fixed and may indeed represent a series of fluid arrangements determined in part by the broader societal factors of motivational processes, the transitional phase between the old subsistence order and the emerging monetised economy does not necessarily equate with the total adoption of value systems that embrace the individualistic ethics of a

market framework. In many instances of this nature, it is not uncommon to see the emergence of different forms of value systems which may comprise; the old existing order, a hybridised version of the old and the new, and the new value systems of the market (Applebaum, 1984b). The contradictions inherent in the principles of *wokgaden* which follows the law of the gift and *wokmani* which follows the law of value (Stevenson, 1987:35) may exist simultaneously in communities of individuals and often influence perceptions and motives to work.

In Fiji too, the existence of contradictory value systems in the emergent market economy indicate the coexistence of two different worlds that incorporate different forms of organising relationships, production and lifestyles. As the individual continues to operate in and traverse these different spheres of existence, a whole range of economically irrational behaviour may be manifested in worker attitudes and motives to work. When this happens, it ultimately affects anticipated levels of productivity in the workplace because the motives to work are still being so strongly influenced by extrinsic factors that are often beyond the control and sometimes the understanding of management.

Despite this apparent conflict of interest between the old order and the new, the potentially volatile situations that encompassed the early indigenous wage earners of the South Pacific and their employers were not generally subject to outbreaks of explosive violence. The studies undertaken by Lal (1986) in Fiji and Saunders (1979) in Queensland show that even in the restrictive and often oppressive confines of a plantation regime, employees would resort to a wide range of techniques of resistance and accommodation that enabled them to survive the rigours of plantation life. In

drawing from Saunders' (1979) work on worker resistance in colonial Queensland, Munro notes that these took the form of;

...passive or surreptitious resistance, such as malingering, shirking and feigning ignorance; outer-directed resistance or overt industrial actions, whether it be disobedience, destruction of property, or physical relation; and inner-directed aggression such as; suicide, maiming themselves, and attacks on other workers (Munro,1993:8).

This difference in attitude to work parallels the dysfunctions brought about by the change in value systems as societies make the transition from a subsistence economy to a market-oriented one. A major conclusion that has emerged from the studies in anthropology and industrial sociology alluded to earlier, is the fact that the reconstituted form of work in the capitalist economic system is different from work as it existed in pre-capitalist societies.

Thompson's (1967) work on "*Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism*" is a classic piece in the debates surrounding industrialism, and is particularly relevant here. His general arguments on the nature of time as seen in the distinction between 'natural' time (governed by the sun) and 'industrial' time (governed by the clock, and manifested by the factory or plantation hooter), provide significant insights into the extent to which these new work habits, featuring strong elements of self-discipline and self-regulation, are internalised into a normative framework that is steeped in newly-acquired expectations and notions of work.

From the employees perspective, the various forms of resistance and accommodation displayed by early plantation workers can be taken as a partial reflection of the broader conflictual responses to rapid social changes, that were overwhelming these communities with each new wave of innovation that the tides of industrialisation

brought in. From the employers' perspective however, it has been suggested that this type of worker behaviour was best addressed by an increased need for control, which in most cases, were provided for by colonial governments whose overriding concern was to ensure the protection of their own economic interests (Munro, 1993:15).

The relevance of acknowledging the notions of resistance and accommodation together with employers' responses to this form of worker behaviour, lies in the implications that all these have for understanding the forms of institutionalised responses that colonialism and capitalism have had in shaping the emergence of what has eventually become a benevolent work culture. Studies that make reference to; the alignment of interests between planters (as employers) and the state (Lal, 1986) and the impact of colonial policies on an emergent industrial workforce (Hess, 1992), indicate that in essence; the state through colonial governments, have contributed to the establishment of a system of labour-management regulation that displays a degree of authoritarian paternalism played out against the backdrop of what may be seen as adversarial and confrontational approaches to labour management (Leckie, 1990a). From the perspective of labour history, it has been argued that such a process was "a means of control" (Munro, 1993:22) and was successful in ensuring greater control in the developing economy.

The latter view is further expounded by Hess (1992) in his analysis of Australia's position regarding the imposition of labour policies in the former Territory of Papua New Guinea. Although it has been acknowledged that the broader notions of paternalism are consistently reflected in the official stance of the colonial administration, of equal importance is the recognition given to the state position in

which the 'protective' nature of their labour regulations were aimed at preserving the long term availability of a willing workforce (Hess, 1992:51).

In the early years of capitalist penetration and expansion in South Pacific countries then, the character of labour policies contributed significantly to the emergence of a benevolent work culture. Fiji is no exception to this scenario. In terms of employee motivation in the public sector, the implications for enhancing workplace productivity lie in the ability to reform an organisational culture which has been steeped in the overwhelmingly protective tradition put in place by the colonial administration. In a situation where the key stakeholders in both the traditional and modern sectors adhere and practice forms of benevolence and patronage, the task of instituting motivation strategies directed at enhancing human capacities for economic growth is made more difficult. Not only is this a feature of indigenous Fijian society, but that amongst the Indo-Fijians who were initially brought into the country as labour for the plantations, the exercise of authority in these work regimes partially succeeded in developing a work culture that revered authority (Lal, 1986). So while the traditional norms and practices of an indigenous people laid the basis of social control and order, the regimented experience of plantation life and the need to survive in a completely new environment, also subdued any real disruptive threat from the Indian quarter. Both of these social experiences have impacted significantly on the emergence of acquiescent behaviour and a work culture of benevolence in Fiji.

The underlying basis of this issue touches upon the notion of cultural dimensions and the effects these have on organisational life and by extension, on managerial behaviour. Hofstede's (1980) attempts to categorise work attitudes in developed and developing

market economies according to their standing on a continuum which is rated along the four cultural dimensions of; power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity provide insights into the culture factor. Having looked at the impact of colonialism on the emergent market economy, it may be argued that the development of a benevolent work culture in the Fijian context would, according to Hofstede's approach, have resulted in a cultural dimension in which low degrees of masculinity became the dominant form. The latter, espoused in its opposite notion of 'femininity' suggest preferences for relationships, modesty, caring for the weak and the quality of life. Such value orientations become quite prevalent in social and organisational life and may go some way in explaining the emphasis on benevolence and acquiescent behaviour in the Fijian work environment.

Studies referred to above show that the early wage-earning experiences of workers in small developing market economies resulted in a range of individual and institutional responses to a work environment whose norms and values contrasted significantly with the notions of work in the subsistence and non market-oriented mode. The ability to develop strategies of resistance and accommodation amongst these workers, indicate a level of resilience that is reflective of a complex network of survival and maintenance mechanisms that are put into effect, when external factors that intrude into their midst are seen as having the potential to upstage the basis of existing social relationships and networks. In relation to the South Pacific, this conflict of interests between the notions of work in a subsistence mode of production and those of an emerging market context has been summed up by Munro (1993) in the following terms:

The transition from the familiar "task-oriented" labor patterns of traditional village life to the regimented and monotonous "time-oriented" routine of plantation work is likewise akin to the Industrial Revolution, which imposed "a regularity, routine and monotony quite unlike pre-industrial patterns" that were

organized around seasons, the needs of livestock and the whims of inclination (Munro,1993:11).

These insights into the experiences of work in the plantation system are particularly relevant for this study. They show that the role of colonial administration in developing and implementing labour policies that were aimed at protecting the state's interests in economic expansion, had the desired impact of also maintaining a benevolent work culture, once the 'protective' policies of [native] labour regulations achieved the objective of subduing any potential acts of hostility or aggression towards the anticipated growth of an emerging market economy. When placed against this background, an analysis of selected national experiences that attempt to address the issue of enhanced productivity for economic growth, assists in a better understanding of the extent to which the motivation of workers, let alone the application of work motivation thinking continues to be a problem of application and implementation in developing economies.

Contemporary experiences of work motivation in developing market economies

There is no established body of literature specifically pertaining to work motivation in developing countries. The specific literature on developing economies from fields such as anthropology, development administration, economic history, industrial sociology, labour studies, Pacific history, political science and social psychology, do however mention work motivation tangentially. What follows is an attempt to draw on such references in order to provide preliminary insights into the area of work motivation, as perceived and practised in these developing market economies. The country experiences that will be discussed here provide insights into India, Pakistan and Papua New Guinea

who like Fiji, have a predominantly British colonial experience and a bureaucratic heritage of Westminster.

India provides the most comprehensive example of this literature with job satisfaction continuing to be a popular area of research. A survey of studies of organisational behaviour between 1970 and 1979 showed that studies of job satisfaction, motivation, job enrichment, and job involvement constituted more than twenty-five percent of all studies in the area of organisational behaviour (Khandwalla and Jain, 1984:112). Studies focusing on bank employees provide a useful microcosm. They describe employees' satisfaction in terms of; improving job authority, accountability, job feedback and expectation of rewards (Akhilesh & Mathew, 1991:253), the provision of sufficient opportunities to increase a sense of participation and job involvement (Singh and Pestonjee, 1990:163), and, the overwhelming support amongst executives who are satisfied with job content factors, in addition to being more amenable to job related aspects (Bhatia, 1985:327-328).

These same concerns arise in a country study commissioned by the Asian Productivity Organisation aimed at identifying factors that affected productivity in the Indian economy (Chandy, 1980). The study's assessment of productivity levels found that at the level of industry, the productivity of the Indian manufacturing sector reflected the potential for work motivation as a viable option for enhancing productivity. So that one of the five factors identified as being an impediment to growth at the industry level related to human skills and attitudes of both management and labour (Chandy, 1980:133). Broadly speaking, these human related factors included aspects of; shortage of skills and knowhow, low worker morale, deteriorating attitudes to work and

widespread absenteeism while industrial disputes were noted as quite prevalent in predominantly private sector industries (Chandy,1980:135).

At the level of unit operations it is interesting to note that the three main problem areas found to hinder productivity were; (a) human factors relating particularly to skills and attitudes towards work, (b) organisational structure with a tendency to overcentralise authority, and (c) communication and control processes in terms of a lack of well-defined objectives and the application of appropriate planning and control systems (Chandy, 1980:135-136). Although this country study concludes with the view that the adoption of a systematic training approach on the job will have the potential to promote appropriate growth levels at both the unit and collective levels (Chandy, 1980:144), one cannot help but sense an element of conservatism inherent in the perception and interpretation of possible options aimed at enhancing human resource capacities for productivity gains. The restrictive nature of the Indian bureaucracy is partially reflected in the official view that effective collective action at the micro-level is thwarted by the overwhelming problems of a teeming population and extensive poverty at the macro level.

There are two issues in the Indian experience that are particularly relevant for this study on work motivation in Fiji. The first is seen in the shared experience of a British colonial legacy reflected in a system of governance that institutionalised economic dualism through bureaucratisation. The second is portrayed through the effect that this kind of bureaucratic culture has had in shaping an overly cautious and seemingly conservative approach towards urgent reform directed at enhancing productivity levels for greater economic growth.

In a similar country study undertaken in Pakistan, parallel concerns pertaining to factors that hinder or help productivity measurement reflect a common issue amongst developing market economies of the need to put in place an appropriate measure of institutional recognition and support for strategies aimed at enhancing economic growth and development. The survey which covered nine out of twenty-nine industries, chosen on the basis of their contribution to value added production, were then categorised according to; (1) sector (public or private), (2) size, (3) ownership (multinational or Pakistani-owned) and (4) export orientation (Ahmad, 1980:66).

One of the important findings of this study which encompassed all those surveyed was the overwhelming majority response in citing labour indiscipline as being the main factor limiting productivity in the Pakistani economy (Ahmad, 1980:63-64). The problem of labour indiscipline in this context relates specifically to the high rates of absenteeism experienced across the board in all establishments. Although it suggests that the emergence of labour indiscipline may partly stem from incompatibilities in needs expectations and needs fulfillment amongst this industrialising workforce, the levels of absenteeism highlighted in this Pakistani study reflect characteristics of a partially committed workforce that would be expected in a partially industrialising economy.

Recommendations of the study to enhance productivity in both the private and public sectors by evolving practical measures, point to the centrality of human resource potential in moulding a workforce that is sufficiently geared towards facing the often daunting, but not insurmountable challenges of an industrialising economy. These include:

...the use of productivity cells, the establishment of a productivity-linked incentive system, enhancing present labour-management relations, instituting measures that stimulate and reward competitive enterprise, and the establishment of a performance bonus category that explicitly excludes higher profitability (Ahmad, 1980:73-74).

In broader studies of the Asian experience, scholars identify conservative approaches to motivation seen in the application of western models as having negative impacts on organisational efficiency (Westwood and Everett, 1987:201). One of the more challenging debates that have emerged from such studies looks at lessons from East Asian capitalistic development. Weber's thesis of the incompatibility of the Confucian ethos and rational entrepreneurial capitalism has been challenged by the "economic miracles" of many East Asian countries (Chung, Shepard and Dollinger, 1988:307).

In the same way that the release of tensions created by Calvinism was an important motivating force in the development of capitalism in Europe, it has been claimed that Confucianism offers a parallel mechanism to the profit-seeking drive in Asian capitalism (Chung, Shepard and Dollinger, 1988:308). One authoritative analysis is that in Confucian societies, tensions that exist are between ideals and reality, usually released through the Confucian concept of a 'ceaseless pursuit of renovation'; a motivational mechanism for the development of capitalism in East Asian societies that parallels the individualism of Calvinism in the West (Chung, Shepard and Dollinger, 1988:309-310).

Despite the contrasting differences in value orientations of both systems, it should be noted that while Calvinism was new, Confucianism is old, and while the latter may have been a force for progress, it took a long time to show it. In terms of this study, the contrasting experiences of Calvinism and Confucianism indicate that as the dominant

paradigm in social systems, the inherent cultural element associated within these social structures is both a product of and a factor in economic development.

So it may be that Confucianism is both effective and efficient for the development of capitalism (Chung, Shepard and Dollinger, 1988:315-316) and that its effect is felt in both public and private sectors. In the context of this thesis the relevance of the Confucian experience may be seen in the link between a pre-existing culture and the logic of industrialism. The point is that while cultural ideology can be a major motivating force at the macro level, it may also have the potential to impact on forms of worker behaviour at the level of the workplace.

Studies on the impact of cross-cultural management in the respective Asian work contexts highlight some of the problems faced when interpretations of local labour processes are based on assumptions drawn from other societies. A study of the Thai experience shows that despite the exploitative nature of power differences, Thais believe that a coincidence of interest between the parties to social interaction is the norm (Thompson, 1988:328). Harmonious workplace interactions are reflected in an emphasis upon company level dialogue and a suspicion towards formal or legalised procedures. On this basis, it has been argued that although the dangers of unstructured relationships are recognised, moves to relinquish the advantages of traditional relationships are often treated with caution (Thompson, 1988:331-333). In the context of a developing market economy like Fiji, where the distinctively dual sectors of the economy operate alongside each other, the attempts to reduce anti-capitalistic tendencies continue to provide challenges for planners and managers as they seek out

viable alternatives to enhancing worker productivity in a societal context that simultaneously upholds distinctively traditional and modern modes of existence.

Similarities may be seen in the Papua New Guinean experience with strong parallels evident in the general Melanesian context of socio-cultural value systems, experiences of colonialism and capitalist expansion in the early years of a developing plantation economy. The issues of work motivation that are being addressed in the context of Papua New Guinea, reiterate basic questions of relevance and applicability of eurocentric managerial concepts in a context that is predominantly non-European. In an attempt to provide some insights into the relevance of motivation theory to Papua New Guinea, Perno (1976) argued that at the level of generality, motivation theory has some relevance for Papua New Guinea just as it would for any changing society, but that in order for the transfer of ideas to be successful, it is necessary that the notions of work in both the subsistence and monetary sectors be first understood (Perno, 1976:19).

This view contrasts markedly with the findings of Finney (1973), who in a study of the Goroka Valley people, writes that although the Gorokans displayed the common features of tribal organisation as in; self sufficiency, low level technology, preoccupation with food supply, an interdependency of economic activity and social organisation, a division of labour determined by age and gender and, the existence of individually defined production units within the clan, they displayed many patterns of behaviour, that are often described as being the characteristics of modern economic man namely; wealth and power seeking competition for leadership and, the encouragement of individual enterprise (Finney, 1973:6-8).

In particular, the role of Big-men in entrepreneurship suggested that the traditional goals of a subsistence economy could be aligned with a monetary economic system in the following ways :

1. through the emphasis on the acquisition of wealth;
2. through the prestige that accrues from the acquisition and control of wealth;
3. through the facility to pool wealth for specific goals;
4. through the entrepreneurial style of ambitious and status seeking men (Finney,1973:171-172).

Of particular significance to this study of employee motivation, is the assumption in Finney's (1973) analysis that there is a potential for adapting and realigning the basic values of a subsistence mode of production to the value systems of a market economy. A similar argument informs Epstein's (1992) study of 'primitive capitalism' amongst the Tolai. At a general level, such studies encourage the view that there is great potential for developing motivational strategies that reflect the realities of a dualistic economic situation.

The inference of 'tailor-making' organisational structures and reward systems to suit the particularities of respective economic environments is also a major conclusion in Ojuka Oneda's. (1991) comparative study on motivation and need satisfaction between Australian and Papua New Guinean managers. In essence, the findings in this study reinforce earlier positions highlighted in Hofstede's (1980) work. Although scholars developed a different need ranking from Maslow's original model, a degree of consensus amongst these scholars is evident in that despite differences in culture and stages of economic development, managers everywhere often attach similar importance to the five need categories (Ojuka Oneda,1991:121). The difference is in the manifestation of needs. So while Australian managers emphasise individualism, Papua New Guinean managers focus on wantokism, but both acknowledge the overriding

relevance of needs fulfillment and the way in which formal employment provides an important means towards the achievement of this end.

It is interesting to note that while the Australian manager's response brings out strong elements of individualism, this finding correlates with Hofstede's (1980) work in which he found a strong correlation between countries which rated individualism highly, and those in which managers placed a high value on autonomy than on security. In assessing the response of the Papua New Guinean manager, it has been pointed out that in general, the responses are similar to those of managers in other developing countries (Ojuka Oneda, 1991:126). Amongst this group, a feeling of self esteem and prestige acquired from their positions are the most satisfied need, in addition to the fact that more importance is attached to security rather than autonomy needs.

In summing up the experiences of work motivation thinking being discussed here, it can be seen that there are real limitations of replicability in the context of developing market economies. The questions that come to mind when looking at the relevance of work motivation thinking to the Fiji context are reflected in Perno's (1976) initial confusion when he was trying to analyse Papua New Guineans' motives to seek paid employment.

Knowing that the typical Papua New Guinean worker joins the wage workforce unskilled, inexperienced, as a subordinate to a foreigner, and has to enter an unknown environment that will give him experiences alien to his primary group, one assumes that he must be highly motivated to do so. What needs are being satisfied by this complete change in his life? Or is he withdrawing from a rural life dissatisfaction ...? (Perno, 1976:23).

What these studies show is that in a developing market economy which is surrounded by a traditional subsistence sector, the fulfilment of individual needs and the need for and attraction towards paid work are often motivated by extrinsic factors in the larger

society. In particular, for the majority of people in developing market economies whose lifestyles consist of a dual existence in both the traditional subsistence and the modern sectors, the arena of paid work is seen as an extension of the existing social order so that wages become a means of fulfilling the range of obligations and expectations in a complex network of social relationships.

In the Fijian situation, the stratified nature of indigenous society suggests that the acquisition and control of wealth, and the facility to pool wealth for specific purposes are often accessible to and controlled by an elite minority, who by virtue of birth and social mobility, as well as through education and training, are often placed in an advantaged position in utilising such opportunities. In the context of the workplace which is often riddled with traditional sentiments that encourage group identity, share and care attitudes and overt defensive territorial behaviour, the capitalistic notions of accumulation for purposes of reinvestment rather than redistribution tend to be looked upon as being 'un-Fijian' in character. Through increased access to education and training, there is a growing recognition even amongst the indigenous Fijian communities that the *vakaviti* or 'Fijian way' of doing things is not always the best option for maximising returns on time and effort. In fact this parallels the experiences of developing market economies in the area of enhancing productivity measures where archaic formalised structures inhibit the establishment of behavioural norms conducive to market-oriented economic activity.

Work motivation in the public sector: coping with foreign legacies

If the documentation of work motivation experiences in developing market economies is fairly scarce, the literature pertaining to the same in the context of the public sector is

almost invisible. Despite this, the respective country experiences referred to in this discussion will attempt to illustrate some of the limitations of replicating theoretical constructs that were originally directed at organisational settings within systems of market-oriented production that had a predominantly European background. In retrospect, the Eurocentric view which pervaded the early discourse on work motivation perpetuated several paternalistic notions regarding etiquette and individual behaviour; a code of conduct that was based on the value orientations of a western European or even anglo culture. However in assuming that such a vision could easily be replicated in a non-European context without any sense of empathy for the needs of the recipient communities, may mean that much management practice becomes simply counter-productive.

The problems linked to work motivation in the public sector in developing market economies are accentuated by a range of factors which include; the existence of a colonial legacy, features of smallness and size, stereotypes of gender and, all kinds of dichotomous tensions that emerge from within a framework of economic dualism. In terms of employee motivation in the public sector, the inherent dubiousness of some of the methodology and research findings of the original behavioural studies by Maslow and Herzberg alluded to in the previous chapter, indicate that the notion of universal applicability makes this whole process even harder to effect. These findings prove particularly useful to this study as they highlight several issues of significance that are commonly experienced also by public sector agencies in other developing market economies.

The notions of objectivity and rationality resulting in the call for a removal of practices that reflect instances of bias in the implementation of procedures, are concerns that are found wanting in the public sector. So a study which examined the motivation of public sector managers in thirty public enterprises in India, concluded that the three most powerful determinants of job satisfaction in descending order that were related to the exercise of authority were; objectivity and rationality, liberalism and total work experience (Sharma and Bhasker, 1991:328). In this case, being objective referred to the employees' need for justice and fairness, whilst the notion of liberalism related to the existence of a radical mindset that preferred changes to the existing order. Total work experience on the other hand, referred to the period of tenure on the job, and for those who had developed a career in the organisation, it was found that the experience, rather than age, had a greater positive impact on job satisfaction (Sharma and Bhasker, 1991:329).

An important difference however between the early Indian studies amongst bank employees and the latter amongst public sector managers is reflected in the emphasis given to intrinsic and extrinsic factors of motivation. Whilst the bank studies viewed intrinsic factors as being crucial to enhancing performance and worker satisfaction, the public sector case concluded that since organisational behaviour was influenced by the larger environment in which organisations were located, the initial emphasis on intrinsic factors as being the sole determinant of employee behaviour in the earlier studies proved to be a major weakness for research in terms of motivation (Sharma and Bhasker, 1991). So it was concluded that since the level of job satisfaction is not confined to factors within the workplace it

...clearly suggests that organisational behaviour is determined not only by organisational structure and processes but also by the influences of the larger

society that people carry with them into the world of work (Sharma and Bhasker,1991:329).

In the Indian bureaucracy this was particularly seen in the fact that the

employee's need for fairplay and justice has become far more important than survival needs. [For this reason]...employers must guard against tendencies like adhocism and favouritism if they want to develop a motivated work force (Sharma and Bhasker,1991:328).

Similarly in the forty-odd agencies that comprise the established core of the civil service in Fiji, common complaints relate to double standards and discrimination on the basis of gender, class, religion, ethnicity, political affiliations and province of origin. Whilst the instances of favouritism are not readily discernible, the fact that they are 'seen' by employees in the management practices of their superiors, indicates a possible cultural heritage of the Westminster system which practises patronage and exclusive collegial networks resulting in such behaviour being perceived as the norm of bureaucratic behaviour.

The implication for work in such a legally restrictive administrative framework is that it tends to project an impression that double standards in management practices and in the conduct of superior-subordinate relationships are 'normal inconsistencies' that should be expected in the course of 'rationalising' forms of organisational behaviour. Whilst there is a logic in this argument, the consistency with which management systems attempt to reduce these recurring behavioural forms, tends to create problems of effective employee interaction when this transitional phase of developing worker commitment becomes an end in itself.

Implications for Fiji

The contrasting experiences related in these country studies indicate that the problems pertaining to the application and replication of work motivation theory in developing economies have both cultural and institutional aspects. The former are reflected in the particularities of socio-cultural contexts of developing economies and the conflict arising from the convergence of western and non-western value systems, whilst the latter are manifested in institutional frameworks that have emerged through the process of colonialism and capitalist expansion.

The status of work motivation in the big economic picture varies considerably among these countries. The Indian experience has shown that in the context of using motivation as a tool for economic growth, the initial move to locate human resources management in strategic management mainstream has been hampered by the existence of an excessively bureaucratic system. The mixed enthusiasm and overly cautious response to HRM and its consequently peripheral, supportive role in enhancing productivity measures is interpreted by some to mean the existence of an opposition to a development option. In India this is manifested in industrial action by workers that is viewed as a real threat to the power base of the establishment (Sharma and Bhasker, 1991).

The experiences of work motivation in developing dualistic economies like Papua New Guinea illustrate that the expectations of jobs seem to be influenced by the societal framework in which work organisations exist. Whilst these studies show that the relevance of western models in developing market economies which has been largely unquestioned by managerial practice, are constantly called into question, they also

reflect a growing awareness of the need to comprehend the impact that social and cultural factors may have on management culture and organisational behaviour.

With regards to work motivation in the public sector, the literature survey suggests that there is no particularly distinctive feature of work motivation which is seen as being the exclusive preserve of the public sector. So in the Indian case public sector managers and bank managers showed no significant difference in terms of motivation.

In summary the studies undertaken in the field show that the claims for generic factors inherent in the notion of work motivation which indicates that it is universally applicable, must be modified according to the particularities of context which key stakeholders have to address and appropriately respond to. Insights gained from these respective studies indicate that the particularities of each context plays a significant part in the degree of acceptability and the ultimate application of new ideas for change.

Chapter 4

Work motivation in Fiji: background to the study context

Introduction

This chapter will specifically focus on locating work motivation in the study context of Fiji. The discussion begins with a positional view that seeks to explain the relevance of examining the notion of work and motivation in Fiji through the framework of economic dualism. Following this, the format in which such an analysis will be undertaken is introduced by an overview of Fiji's industrialising experience covering the period from 1874 to the mid 1990s. The outstanding features of the work culture this has created may be seen in the persistence of economic dualism and the resultant benevolent work environment. Having established the nature of benevolence as a significant feature of the Fijian work culture, the discussion will move on to examining the extent to which all this and other related factors provide the basis upon which new challenges for maximising human resource capacities for economic growth are being addressed. The final section looks at the implications of work motivation thinking for economic growth in Fiji.

Work and economic dualism in Fiji: a living in two worlds

This section attempts to comprehend the intricacies of employee behaviour in a changing work environment. Its underlying premise is that work in the Fijian context is best understood, when it is examined within the larger framework of economic dualism. The discussion will then proceed to contextualise this scenario by examining, through the experiences of Fiji's industrialising process, how work has been perceived and

practised, and the implications that these perceptions and practices have for current advocates of greater workplace productivity. Such an analytical framework attempts to provide a comprehensive overview on the particularities of the Fijian context in which employee motivation as a strategic management tool for increased efficiency, attempts to play a significant role in maximising human resources for greater economic growth.

A central argument of this thesis is that the notion of work as an economic activity does not exist in a vacuum, and that the need to maintain a motivated workforce is largely influenced by the value and belief systems existing within the broader societal context. In the Fijian context it is widely recognised that the transitional phase of Fiji's industrialising status has eventually emerged in a series of dichotomies impacting on all levels of society in a distinctly dualistic economy.

Examples of these dichotomies range from social distinctions as in; age (young versus old), class (chief versus commoner), race (indigenous Fijians versus Indians), gender (male versus female) and religion (Christians versus non-Christians), through divisions which are spatially inclined as in; rural versus urban, mainland versus maritime communities and interior versus coastal, to institutional categories as in public and governmental versus private and non governmental and central versus local government.

So while there is a dualistic economic base in existence, its continuance becomes more entrenched by the nature of dichotomies in which the individual perceives actual and potential fields of alignment for purposes of conducting socio-economic activities. The nature and length of these attachments depend on the degree of compatibility between individual and group needs at any point in time, and have come to provide a basis for

establishing networks of human relationships that incorporate kinship and non kinship formations.

It would seem that while the employee in the Fijian workplace is likely to have acquired pre-work experience in areas of social bonding, exchange and distribution, dialogue and consensus, group work, loyalty and a respect for authority, the potential for harnessing these values in the workplace in a more strategic manner assumes greater prominence in view of the fact that the socialisation process provides a viable framework for setting the basis of integrative mechanisms that further maximise productive relationships between the familiar (kin) and the foreign (non-kin) in a formal work setting.

While some managers either take this for granted, or do not consider this form of pre-work experience as being of any direct relevance to the achievement of organisational goals, there is a possibility that a lack of understanding of linkages between the socio-cultural environment at the macro-level to the demands and expectations of productivity at the workplace, may have significant implications for maintaining highly motivated employees and harmonious relationships between managers and their subordinates. Given the nature of a dualistic economy and the associated mobility of a wage-earning population (Chandra, 1996b), such processes would clearly impact upon work patterns, employee attitudes and behaviour in the workplace, systems of labour-management strategies and ultimately on productivity levels in general.

An overview of the approximately 120 years of industrialisation in Fiji will highlight the extent to which this contemporary study is influenced by a colonial past, which in turn laid the basis of a work culture that is both benevolent in its nature and authoritarian in

its management style. While it is acknowledged that these time periods are only arbitrary divisions of a country's history in which the events of a particular era are influenced by the dynamics of a previous time period, its use in this analytical framework attempts to provide insights into the complexities surrounding work motivation in a context of economic dualism.

Important events in Fiji's political development that impact significantly on the development of a work culture in Fiji include; the colonial experience from 1874 to 1969, the attainment of political independence and the boom years of economic growth from 1970 to the mid 1980s, and the military coups of 1987 to the post-coup aftermath in which the associated traumas of economic survival and the uncertainties of constitutional reform in the 1990s laid the basis of an accelerated agenda for regaining economic growth. What this ultimately means for the study is that for each significant era of political change, there is a correlating change in the pattern of relationships at work. When this happens, one may expect to see a manifestation of shifting notions of work through changing attitudes, expectations and behaviours that reflect a continuing state of flux in the commitment levels of this partially industrialising workforce. This will in turn have a significant impact on the extent to which the notions of employee motivation can be understood and practised in this developing market economy.

The colonial years: establishing a work culture

While it is not the intention to provide a comprehensive coverage of this important period in Fiji's development history, the issues that have nevertheless been chosen here have a particular relevance for this study. They are; the establishment of a protective policy of governance, the role of tradition in the emergence of new power relationships

and the psychological impact of a colonial experience. Their respective impacts on the emergence of a new work culture with a particular emphasis on work motivation will be highlighted in the course of this discussion.

The characteristically British colonial regime of indirect rule led to dual forms of governance; one for the 'natives' and one for the 'others'. Frazer (1973) describes the nature of this dualistic form of governance as it was seen under the first permanent governor in the new colony.

Sir Arthur Gordon (later Lord Stanmore) wasted no time in setting up a form of administration which in its central policy aims remained quite remarkably intact almost until independence in 1970. His major organizational constraint was that his administration had to be self-supporting financially, while his major policy constraint, a self-imposed one, was that Fijian rights, customs and institutions were to be preserved and overlaid with, but not restructured by, the benefits of education, law, medicine, and economic progress (Frazer, 1973:81).

Such an official view had grave repercussions on the ensuing process of development. In linking it to this study, it would seem that the development of a work culture in Fiji, was influenced by strong colonial policies that opposed at the very outset, the establishment of a more individualistic, entrepreneurial lifestyle, commensurate with the demands of a more market-oriented system of production.

By the late 1900s however, the wisdom of such insulated strategies was being challenged. The Spate Report of 1959 was of the view that this protective policy was a mistake which would be a disaster with independence. Although commissioned by the colonial government, and eventually rejected, its exclusion from mainstream policy agendas was only a temporary reprieve. Thirty years later, on the expiry of its confidentiality, the early warnings of socio-economic consequences resulting from this

form of protective policy was reiterated by Ward in a prelude to the Spate report reprinted in the *Journal of Pacific History*.

It has many lessons for the late 1980s...Thirty years on, the fallacy of using a structure based on a relatively closed and self-sufficient socioeconomic system with an ascribed hierarchy of rank as the basis of the electoral system is revealed. Its use in a modern, open and largely commercial economy with a socially mobile population is likely to prove fatal (Spate, 1990: 104).

The particular significance of such a comprehensive analysis of the Fijian situation reflected in documents like the Spate Report and other later studies (France, 1968; Fisk, 1970; Lasaga, 1981; Knapman, 1987) imply that these protective arrangements had two implications for work. The first is seen in the general economic situation in which the policy of protectionism had on the effect of supporting a dualistic economy. The second is seen in the flow-on effect this dualism has had for those Fijians seeking employment in the market economy. Given the divisive nature of such a form of governance, and the deliberate compartmentalisation of ethnic groups in the spheres of political and economic life, it comes as no surprise that workforce commitment would be uneven. So the effort required for enhanced productivity in the workplace, is often overshadowed by the legacy of a colonial work culture which has systematically undermined the confidence and self esteem of its workforce through the practices of political patronage, nepotism and favouritism. It may well be that the latter is more prevalent in the realm of the public service, with the adapted Westminster model providing an ideal environment in which such organisational practices flourished (Lawson, 1996).

In terms of the need for sustaining and protecting the new forms of economic activities in the young and developing plantation economy, it was quickly recognised amongst the early entrepreneurs, for whom some had the added advantage of previous management experiences in similar plantation economies elsewhere, that the state, represented by the

experiences in similar plantation economies elsewhere, that the state, represented by the colonial administration, needed to play a key supportive role in this sphere of activity. In this instance, protective policies of employment arrangements also became an integral part of this process of economic development.

Studies alluding to this political phenomenon of power play and control between the state and big business interests have been highlighted by Munro and Firth (1990), as they show the extent to which the state was used in protecting the interests and operations of private capital throughout the island economies of the Pacific (Munro and Firth, 1990:25-26). Likewise in Fiji, this growing network of colonial control and the degree to which big business influenced state affairs on labour policy is evidenced in the operations of companies like the Colonial Sugar Refinery (CSR) (now called Fiji Sugar Corporation), whose monopolistic hold over the sugar industry, gave it unrestricted access to sources of influence and control in the highest echelons of power.

Bain's (1988) study of a colonial labour policy in Fiji has shown that the active pursuit of control, was made all the more possible through a regulated strategy of laws and policies that were meticulously crafted into the administrative and legal framework of the colonial machinery. Suffice to say, these different pieces of legislation achieved the purpose of keeping the workers in check in a fairly subordinate manner, with the employers seemingly in control.

One such area of corporate and state interaction that has had a significant impact on Fiji's work culture is the system of indenture which the colonial government endorsed immediately after establishing its status as a crown colony. Drawing on the experiences

of plantation economies in the West Indian colonies, it was assumed by the colonial administration that such a system of labour recruitment would serve two key functions. While it was seen to provide a cheap and ready supply of labour for the manpower needs of an emerging plantation economy, it would also 'protect' the indigenous population from being drawn into the rigours of a work environment that had the potential of disrupting a communalistic lifestyle in a traditional social order. The latter was seen to be in keeping with the general policy of 'divide and rule' that Governor Gordon had put into place.

Issues of the indentured experience that have impacted on the development of a work culture in Fiji may be seen along the following lines. The importation of a whole new workforce over an existing pool of potential indigenous labour, the conversion of a homogenous demographic base into a multi-ethnic populace, a distinct compartmentalisation of ethnic groups in political activities and a systematically controlled network of access and participation in economic-oriented activities, have seen the emergence of the ethnic factor which has pervaded all levels of societal perception and practices.

A key to understanding the current situation is found in the way in which relationships between social groups have changed during the development process. In Fiji's experience, parallels may be discerned with other British colonies. A familiar characteristic is the way in which a highly authoritarian social structure inherent within the traditions of an indigenous population, was recognised and used by the colonial administration as the basis upon which state control would be established and maintained. Denoon's (1983) point relating to such a strategy of intervention as a key

feature amongst the earlier forms of settler capitalism in which, “the precise alignment of social classes, and their relationships to and through the state, have had powerful influences on the strategies which governments have pursued” (Denoon,1983:227), is amply reflected in the British colonial experience in Fiji. While the changing power relations involved in a newly emergent system of market-oriented production in Fiji, have been the subject of many comprehensive studies (Sahlins, 1962; Frazer ,1973; Ravuvu, 1987), these are reflective of the crucial role that tradition played in the emergence of new power relationships amongst the key stakeholders who direct and control the variables of economic production within the country.

The need and indeed the significance of greater control was made all the more possible in the Fijian context, when it was recognised that the potential of attaining such degrees of influence were already entrenched in the existing structures of an indigenous social order. To this end, the traditions of chiefly institutions were also courted and subsequently utilised in consolidating and sustaining the economic interests of the young and developing colony. Insights into the role of chiefly institutions and its relationship to economic development attempt to show the extent to which the social norms and values of an indigenous social order, endorsed and manifested in the office of its chiefly holders, played a significant role in establishing and perpetuating the ideals of benevolence and acquiescent behaviour in a partially industrialising workforce.

While the notion of ‘tradition’ and what constitutes ‘Fijian tradition’ is a highly contentious issue, Ward’s (1987) views on this very notion reminds us of the fragility and extreme vulnerability of Fiji, and small Pacific states, to external forces of change,

which significantly impact on systems of beliefs and values of host communities and which in turn, are reflected in societal perceptions and practices over time.

What now passes for the 'traditional' Fijian way of life is in large measure a creation of the last hundred years - the era of colonial and post-independence governments and Christian churches, trading companies and commercial farming(Ward,1987:35)

In the context of this study, the validity of Ward's (1987) argument provides a sound basis on which the discussion of work in the Fijian tradition is being analysed as it not only reasserts the flexibility of societal dynamics, but that such a rationale provides an important link to the ensuing analysis of work as experienced through the industrialising process of a young plantation economy. As such, this notion of Fijian tradition as practised in the last hundred years is more relevant to the examination of contemporary Fijian society. This is not in any way a disregard for the traditions of the pre-contact period, but that in terms of this study, it is the traditions that were seen and interpreted by officialdom in the post-contact years, that have had the greatest impact on assessing changing notions of work in the developing market economy.

Whilst it is accepted that the introduction of firearms together with the processes of religion, colonialism and, commerce have had significant impacts on; modes of production (Ward,1987), centres of power and control (Routledge, 1985; Plange, 1985), division of labour (Leckie, 1990), changing gender roles (Schoeffel and Kikau, 1980; Slatter, 1984; Leckie, 1987), relationships between ownership and production (Plange, 1985; Bain, 1988) and the role of the state in economic development (Knapman, 1987), there are certain features within society itself that have formed the basis of entrenching a benevolent social fabric which in turn has been utilised effectively by key stakeholders in establishing control of the emergent work culture in a developing economy like Fiji.

The particular features of this indigenous tradition that will be examined relate to the social structure of ethnic Fijians and, the role of women in society. In the Fijian context it will be shown that the social structure of ethnic Fijians as it has evolved in the last century, forms the very basis on which Fijian tradition is pivoted. It is also on this social platform that the norms and values determining social relationships and exchanges ultimately prescribed by “age, gender and life cycle roles prevalent in the wider society” (Leckie, 1990:xxi) are played out.

The stratified nature of ethnic Fijian society is reflected in the different strata of social classes that each individual acquires through birth. These range from the lowest rung of artisan classes comprised mainly of *liganikau* and *mataisau* (woodcarvers and carpenters), through to the specialised groups of *gonedau* (fishermen), and the *bati* (warriors), to the religious class of *bete* (priests), culminating with the class of *turaga* (chiefs) at its pinnacle. While these main classes perform the equivalence of key line functions in the community, there also exist key support groups like the *qase ni vale* (elders of the house) and the *matanivanua* (traditional spokesman) whose main functions involve the provision of personalised and intermediary services to the chiefly class, in addition to the custodial duties of maintaining and regulating knowledge on the ‘laws of the land’ within the community itself. In total, whilst these different classes have specific obligatory functions and relationships with the chiefly class, there also exists a whole complex network of interdependent relationships and socially sanctioned behaviour between and among these same social groups that are independent of the chiefly strata.

The significance of this to the study lies in the implication that such a stratified form of social existence is bound to have on issues of; work attitudes, work commitment, behaviour in the workplace, perspectives and expectations towards the authority of management and, the maximisation of worker potential for enhanced productivity. If the transitional industrialising status of Fiji's economic growth is indefinitely set in a dualistic framework, then the implications for its equally transitional workforce in the formal sectors of the market economy are bound to manifest itself in employee behaviour that is deemed 'irrational' and 'non market-oriented' by western standards.

In terms of worker commitment, the ethnic Fijian is therefore faced with a contradictory set of interests, obligations and loyalties in a framework laced with dualistic tendencies. On the one hand there are the traditions of the *vanua* (the land) which sired his or her existence and to which there is an unwritten but highly personalised network of mutually reciprocal relationships that form the basis of human relationships. On the other, is a formalised work environment, whose codified notions governing organisational conduct reflected in employment contracts and job descriptions, attempt to bring out an accepted level of rational behaviour in the worker, that is deemed to be in keeping with the demands of a system of market-oriented production. The resultant problem of shifting levels of commitment that characterises the nature of a partially industrialising workforce, thus becomes doubly difficult to manage when Fijian workers maintain a dualistic existence in the growing market economy. This dualistic lifestyle means that while they may be workers who reside in and around urban centres for purposes of employment, many still retain their traditional ties by being involved to some degree with the various rites of passage and other social exchanges of their respective kinship groups.

The second feature of significance that this discussion will address relates to the role of women as it stands in the broader framework of gender and labour. Reference to these issues here is undertaken in an attempt to highlight the extent to which the existing dichotomous tendencies in the Fijian context, are a reflection of a fairly strong gender bias towards a predominantly male and paternalistic view that eventually finds its way into the perceptual tendencies and practices of a work culture.

What has come to be seen as the behavioural norm in a social order reflecting tendencies of benevolence and patronage in an authoritarian structure, is in essence, a reflection of a social system which tends to further perpetuate women's overall subordinate status by; increasing their economic dependency, accentuating their status as legal minors, offering limited and peripheral participation in political processes, with token recognition and minimal institutional support in the spheres of social and economic production.

Generally speaking amongst ethnic Fijians these social and physical divisions of work are further accentuated by societal perceptions of public versus private spheres of activity, influence and control. Although men's work comprise heavy and high risk activities that form the initial basis of household existence, the daily subsistence needs and routine maintenance requirements of the household economy often rests with women to manage. Men's work tend towards an exclusively male access to the knowledge and control of specialised activities, ceremonies associated with the rites of passage, healing and magic.

The popular acceptance of this gender distinction is furthered by indigenous folklore in which role distinctions often portray the male as being the gender imbued with the supernatural gifts of *mana*, giving him powers of control and influence over earthly dominion and an ability to face the unknown. European contact particularly associated with missionary experience saw gender distinction place greater emphasis women's work being confined to a series of activities undertaken in and around the house (Schoeffel and Kikau, 1980). Thus, work outside of the house and in the more public-oriented area of communalistic existence came to be accepted as the 'normal and destined' domain of men.

Worker behaviour that often reflects an overwhelming respect for authority, deference to seniority and the male gender, paternalistic attitudes towards women, a tendency to group formation on the basis of gender, traditional links, ethnicity and social class, extremely high levels of accommodative behaviour and, covert forms of resistance, are often misinterpreted by management as being part of the 'normal' behaviour of workers as they settle into the workplace environment.

What is often missing in this initial reading of worker behaviour is the recognition and acknowledgement by management, that the ethnic Fijian workers themselves, are products of a highly structured and authoritarian social order in which social interaction between individuals and groups are regulated by a set of norms and customs. Such complex behavioural patterns are reflective of basic social values that form the core of social cohesion and bonding. From an ethnic Fijian perspective, these behavioural code serves an important strategic function because it ensures that there would be a greater

likelihood of acceptance and survival amongst non kinsmen in territories that are beyond the immediate control and protection of his or her clan.

If one were to take this further and argue that this conditioning process of ethnic Fijians has the basis of an organised form of workplace behaviour, there is still a basic issue that needs to be recognised and addressed. Unless the institution of work as perceived within this framework of economic dualism is replaced with functional alternatives that give due recognition to the particularities of gender, then one may expect systems of performance management to be influenced by stereotypes irrespective of equivalent effort expended on the job. Although increased access to education and training have made significant inroads into reshaping societal perceptions and changing attitudes towards women, there is still a long way to go in the battle towards achieving equality of access into the workforce and consistency in the development and application of gender sensitive policies in the workplace.

The role of an emergent elitist class and the impact that it continues to have on the maintenance of a benevolent work culture has been partly illustrated in the earlier part of this discussion. A particular reference however to class formation during the period of colonial capitalism in Fiji argues that “as the capitalist economy became entrenched as the dominant mode” (Plange, 1985:92), certain class structures came into being.

Of the four social classes that Plange (1985) identifies, the first three manifest characteristics which correlate with the nature of industrialising elites in Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers’ (1960) pioneering study. In Fiji’s case these new forms of social classes were namely; the expatriate bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic and indigenous

bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie (Plange,1985:92-95). Positioned at the pinnacle of the economic structure, the first class which was solely European in composition, featured all the renowned names of big business like Burns Philp, Morris Hedstrom and W.R.Carpenter. This group had established themselves in the strategic industries of sugar and copra, in addition to control of the merchandising sector and the shipping industry at the turn of this century (Plange,1985:92). The overwhelming dominance of this expatriate class and the extent to which it had been able to consolidate its power base in a stakeholding network that was keen on protecting their economic interests is summed up in the following terms:

The dominant position of foreign capital was encouraged by the colonial state through overt legislative support. State assistance, as well as other market facilities including the competitive advantages gained from economies of scale, ensured the commanding economic position of expatriate capital while also undercutting the aspirations of small planters who had resided in Fiji before the establishment of the Pax Britannica (Plange,1985:92).

The second strata which comprised this emerging elitist class included a largely professional group and those who, by virtue of being employees of a colonial administration, provided them with a salary, benefits and a socially accessible position “to participate in the exclusive life-style and tastes of the local bourgeoisie of expatriate origin” (Plange,1985:93). Included in this class was an indigenous group made up of the traditional title-holders (*Ratus*) from the prominent chiefly families around the country. The role of the indigenous bourgeoisie as partners with the colonial state in the exercise of greater control was a common and age old strategy that Plange(1985) similarly acknowledged in his study.

Some became administrative officials through whom the colonial state could exercise additional control over Fijian commoners. In practice, they colluded with the colonial state and capital to draw revenue and profits through rents from land rented as communal property. Aspects of the new structure therefore mixed well with and also reinforced, the old basis of their power, privilege and prosperity. By their association and ‘wealth’, they were also able to participate in a new and exclusive lifestyle (Plange,1985: 93).

The commercial and bureaucratic urban petty bourgeoisie which comprised the third group were initially Europeans and part-Europeans of planter and commercial background, whose ranks were later swelled by subsequent arrivals of Chinese traders and a

slow influx of non-indentured Indians into the new economy, a sizeable number of whom were Gujeratis with some capital which they invested in small businesses catering primarily for the needs of Indian workers and farmers in the port towns and sugar mill areas (Plange,1985:96).

In the main, while these social classes formed the basis of the emerging network of economic control comprising big business, powerful entrepreneurs and a select group of local and expatriate bureaucrats groomed in the traditions of a British public service culture, the whole system was firmly put into place by a form of governance which had a powerful psychological dimension that was to have far reaching implications for the emergence of a benevolent work culture.

The particular experience of colonialism has left an indelible impression on the socio-cultural psyche of a colonised people. A Pacific Islander scholar's description of the initial encounter between Europeans and Pacific islanders in the early 1800s is equally relevant to the Fijian perception and description of the colonial experience. The feeling of

being overwhelmed with the affluence and lifestyles of white men, being intimidated and feeling minute in the face of new technology and knowledge and, the associated stigma of being a 'native' (Lasaqa,1973:309),

is a real concern in the recurring battle directed at the dismantling of attitudinal and behavioural stereotypes prevailing in Fiji today. Its dominant status at the core of the Fijian mindset indicates that the initial psychological ploy incorporated in the early norming period of establishing an appropriate work culture in an emergent cash economy, was part of the broader strategies of political and economic dependence that

those in control would come to wield in a systematic manner over the rest of the populace. While this may have resulted in a methodical and institutional restructuring of the socio-psychological framework of Fiji's people from one of confidence and high self esteem to an unquestioning and indifferent acceptance of the status quo, it has shown that acquiescent behaviour and benevolence towards new forms of control and authority have developed over time in a changing economic environment.

In the ensuing process of nation-building, the efforts at reconstructing this notion of saving 'face' and self confidence through policies of localisation and racially inclined affirmative action, have been made more difficult by the persistence of neocolonialist structures and behavioural forms. These historical specificities have played a crucial part in shaping Fijian work culture in a context of planned economic growth and economic dualism.

In summing up the impact of this colonial legacy, it is obvious that this period of Fiji's development process has been the most crucial in the country's history. The overriding protective policy of governance that directed and controlled access and participation in the management of economic development, employment arrangements, educational opportunities, entrepreneurial growth and the maintenance of an indigenous tradition, illustrates the extent to which a benevolent work culture has been developed and sustained in a framework of economic dualism.

Independence and beyond: work in the new nation-state

The attainment of political independence in 1970 and the fifteen years thereafter are important periods in the country's development. Not only did it herald Fiji's entry into

international forums as a decolonised nation-state espousing its sovereignty to determine its own political and economic future, but that on the domestic front, the challenges of controlling and sustaining a level of economic growth and ensuring an equitable spread of the benefits of development were going to be priority concerns that would continue to occupy the government agenda. While growth meant new jobs, increased investment opportunities, political stability, high social indicators and secured markets, the overriding concern was always going to hinge on the ability to guarantee their viability in a framework of economic dualism.

In terms of the expansion of civil society, the years of the early post-independence era reflected new levels of organised interests and while they characterised the degree of an industrialising democracy, the basis upon which it proceeded was influenced greatly by an entrenched colonial legacy. Ethnicity and the need to reduce ethnic differentials between ethnic Fijians and Indo Fijians seemed to be the determining variable in the formation of political parties, interest groups, compositions of boards and strategic committees, appointments to key executive positions in government, access to public service jobs, award of scholarships, establishment of local government bodies and the continued maintenance of a separate machinery of Fijian administration. These racially-inclined notions of affirmative action were formalised in a series of acts of Parliament and the 1970 Fiji Constitution.

Generally speaking, the existence of modern elitist contemporaries in this period was just as distinctive as it was then during the colonial years. Although the composition of the expatriate bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic and indigenous bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie may have slightly varied, this social strata occupies an important role in the

policy making processes pertaining to national strategies of economic growth. The significant degree of political clout and economic leverage that they wielded was reflected in board memberships, composition of government and other advisory bodies as in the Labour Advisory Board, the Tripartite Forum, the Economic Summit and, in appointments to the top executive management positions throughout the public and private sectors.

The significance of this elitist class to the notion of work is seen in the role of industrialising elites in the emerging relationship between managers and the managed in an industrialising process. In the case of Fiji, this relationship was further pronounced in a neocolonial context that saw the continuation of a rigid public service tradition reflecting outdated and conservative approaches to the management of its human resources; a personnel disjuncture which was supported in the main by a fairly authoritarian leadership style in an equally centralised administrative system.

Of particular importance to this study, is the implication for developing and sustaining motivational levels in a workforce, whose attitudes and expectations have been influenced by practices which, in the words of a senior public bureaucrat, “portrayed instances of double standards, favouritism and racial discrimination”, in the workplace. Such practices were further compounded by networks of ‘old boys’ and other interest groups for whom it has been suggested, the protection of their ‘own kind’ within the system is one of many tactics used in the promotion of staked interests. With increased access to education and training in the years after Independence, the neocolonial networks of key stakeholders that directed and controlled economic production were now facing mounting levels of dissatisfaction from a more vocal and informed populace

about inadequate service delivery in all sectors and the increasing gap in society between the rich and the poor.

The union movement in the years after Independence has played a crucial role during this period with the most significant achievement reflected in mobilising worker support in launching the first Labour Party. While this was seen as a move away from the old ethnic-based formations, it signalled new levels of awareness in the ranks of the working class. It was not the emergence of a new political force that took the Establishment by surprise, but rather the speed at which public opinion was mobilised and articulated through the ballot box. Indeed the overwhelming levels of popular support especially amongst workers was a strong signal to the country's leaders that the systems of political and economic management were not effectively addressing needs and aspirations of the society. It also reflected an increasing level of discontent with the discriminatory practices of an old order that further widened the gap between the educated and indigenous elites and the uneducated and non chiefly classes. The culmination of a first coalition government between the National Federation Party and Labour in a national election victory in 1987 was a political milestone that was only to be overturned later with a military coup on May the 14th of the same year.

These significant events in the latter part of this post-independence period illustrated a series of interrelated issues. On a social level, they showed that in the process of economic development, change becomes inevitable and even the most formidable of institutions, whether it be indigenous or otherwise are prone to the forces of change. On a political level it stood to reaffirm the potential power of a public majority in standing up to an elitist minority. While the confidence to challenge the status quo came to be

encouraged in the spirit of democracy, it was increasingly becoming obvious to a growing educated middle class that, the ethnic factor as a determining variable for rationalising policy choices had major shortfalls that directly influenced the achievement of greater and more efficiency levels and ultimately productivity. Faced with the repercussions of a dramatic economic downturn and increased international pressure, it was soon recognised by politicians and policy makers that in order to gain lost ground on the economic front, many hard and highly sensitive decisions would have to be taken if growth and productivity levels were to make a real difference.

The post-coup years: productivity for economic growth

The military coup of 1987 marked a major turning point in Fiji's development process that reflected in many ways the rupture of an old order which for the last hundred years, had been a strategic tool of state control. Despite the deep racial tensions between Indians and Fijians that these political upheavals seemed to suggest, the immediate task that lay ahead focused on the urgency of economic recovery and regaining international credibility.

As the political agenda revolved around a constitutional crisis, economic strategies were geared towards structural adjustment that included deregulation, privatisation, public sector reform and a gradual reduction in state control on the economy. The task that lay ahead recognised that the need for reform to achieve greater economic growth was going to require a concerted effort and commitment from key stakeholders in the economy. Much needed reform for greater productivity and accelerated economic growth became the real challenges in this post-coup period.

In most of the studies on the Fijian situation in the post coup years (Taylor, 1987; AusAid, 1995; Forsyth, 1996; Chandra, 1996a, 1996b), one of the key issues that keeps emerging in all these discussions, is the nature of ethnic tensions inherent in the tenancy lease agreements of native-owned land as enshrined in the Agricultural Landlord and Tenancy Act (ALTA), and the uncertainties of anticipated outcomes in the constitutional review process. The connection of all this to the indentured experience is that since this was the mechanism by which the first Indians came into the country, it also marked the beginning of a new era for a society in which the initial homogenous structure of an indigenous host community, was being expanded and institutionally converted into a heterogenous one, with a distinct compartmentalisation of the two main ethnic groups in all spheres of activities.

The degree of popular support that the coup generated amongst ethnic Fijians marked important trends in changing expectations amongst this particular ethnic group. In essence it signalled shifts in the relationships between commoners and chiefs. The age of unquestioning obedience was indeed a thing of the past, as increased education and training equipped ethnic Fijians of non-chiefly status with the confidence that they too could be relied upon to undertake initiatives arguably seen as 'protecting' the greater cause of preserving indigenous interests. The point of relevance to this study is that whilst the ethnic Fijian individual recognises the significance of chiefly institutions in a Fijian social order, there is a growing element of distance and indifference in the functional significance that traditional hierarchy has on the daily lives of ordinary people who work as a matter of socio-economic necessity and survival, and not as a sole matter of choice.

Bain's (1990) observation of the nature of workplace leadership in the Mineworkers Strike at the Vatukoula gold mine in 1947, and the implication it has for the future role of traditional authority as a key element of state control, shows that these issues have been present in the workplace for sometime.

These generational and ideological features of the strike leadership underlay the strong challenge issued by the strikers to the traditional ruling class. ...Chiefly authority - historically a crucial component of the mining industry's structure of labour control - was thus for the first time seriously questioned and thus implicitly undermined (Bain,1990:236).

Other changes include a more articulated awareness amongst educated commoners and low to middle class income earners, that they were being unfairly excluded and often bypassed in appointments and promotions to jobs, that somehow seemed to be the exclusive preserve of a chosen few. The rapid turnover of senior executive positions in the Fiji Public Service and in the wider public sector, indicate however that neocolonialist forms of patronage, favouritism and nepotism still underlie appointments to important positions of power and influence in many of these organisations. In the context of this study, what this ultimately means is that whilst the ordinary ethnic Fijian worker may have been under the illusion that the coup of 1987 partially removed key obstacles to progressive behaviour and lifestyles, the fact remains that all these initiatives are still yet to be regulated and institutionalised in more strategic and consistent forms.

Much of the continuing dialogue that has taken place since the coup has been the generally more open forums that focus on the realities of ethnicity in multiracialism. In saying this, recognition is given to the work carried out by the dominant Christian religions in the country who have assumed active roles in changing public opinion

towards policies directed at upholding justice, equality and attaining a quality of life based on strong social and family values.

It would be fair to say that while there is a generally wider acceptance amongst Indians that the preservation of ethnic Fijian interests is a real concern that is at the heart of indigenous fears of domination, the on-going process of dialogue is far from over. As universal rights pertaining to equality of access and participation in all spheres of the economy gain momentum within a societal framework that only a few years back was proliferous in pursuing a strong ethnic line, the findings of a major constitutional review and its endorsement by Parliament marks the beginnings of a political culture that would ultimately move away from the notions of race as the determinant variable of policy. Its impact on the workplace would be significant as it may well also lead to a more rapid dismantling of stereotypes that have thwarted a more effective use of HRM for economic growth.

The relevance of all this to current issues surrounding employee motivation is that it helps in understanding how the state as a key stakeholder in Fiji's industrialising process, has articulated its needs and interests through a mutually reinforcing relationship with other stakeholders in the system. Through colonialism, the basis for an acquiescent workforce that was put into place showed that where the degree of compatibility between stakeholders did not diverge too significantly, this often allowed control to be institutionalised and effected more quickly (Prasad,1994).

The issue of tighter labour laws and the continuing attempts at labour reform in the post coup period has had an impact on the potential role of unions to effectively promote and

protect workers rights and interests in a changing work environment as seen in the reform measures to existing labour laws in 1991 and 1992. The four legislations were; the Industrial Associations Act amended by Decree No. 42 of 1991, the Trade Union (Recognition) Act amended by Decree No.43 of 1991, the Trade Union Regulations amended by Legal Notice No. 59 of 1991 and the Trade Disputes Act amended by Decree No. 27 of 1992. The significance of highlighting these labour issues is that it provides insights into the impact that a system of industrial relations can have in shaping and determining productivity.

The emphasis in the first amendment in the Industrial Association Act was to disallow any individual from holding office in more than one trade union or industrial association. It would seem that part of the rationale in pushing this line of thinking forward, has been the concern by the state and employers of the potential damage that may be incurred in critical sectors should industrial unrest coupled with support from international unions bring the country's economy to a halt. Legal proceedings directed at a key founder of the Fiji Labour Party, Mahendra Chaudhary, who currently holds the General Secretary positions in the Fiji Public Service Association and the National Farmers Union have now been withdrawn. In response to pressure from the ILO, the government was requested to cease prosecution action commenced in February 1991 against Mahendra Chaudhary for holding office in two workers' organisations.

The cry of victory for unionists was however shortlived as the ramifications of the second ammendment in the Industrial Associations Act set in. The second amendment restraining industrial associations from acting as trade unions in the matter of trade disputes, prevented the efforts of associations like the garment workers from dealing

with disputes. Although this move has provided an incentive to employers in the garment industry from interference by its workers, the current status of individual bargaining in a predominantly female industry which employs about 10,000 workers is subject to exploitation and abuse.

An important point worth noting in this process of labour reform is that the anticipated outcomes of legislative changes have generally been one-sided. In all these changes, the employers have continued to retain the upper hand of control adding to their entrenched power base in the economy. Responses from the employers indicate support of these reforms as they serve to promote their interests even further. Amongst the trade unions, there have been strong opposition to these changes as union leaders perceive the wider undercurrents that attempt to destabilise what many see as a potentially strong political force, a weakening of the growth of new unions and a systematic reduction of the role of unions from being effective intermediaries of workers' interests and rights.

Thus far, one is able to see through this particular industrialising experience how the coexistence of stakeholders have shaped the country's industrial relations machinery and approaches to labour-management relationships. So while for example, fifty years ago the traditional authority of the chiefs lost significant ground during the mineworkers strike, a trade union was born as an outcome of this particular industrial crisis. Likewise fifty years later, the state, the Fiji Employers Federation and the Fiji Trades Union Congress as the core of a common industrialising elite in the country continues to shape and direct the pace of economic growth. Current experience has shown however that while a National Productivity Board has been established to coordinate productivity strategies, there are significant differences in expectations of these initiatives from

within this same core group. The confrontational approach to addressing industrial issues that pervades the articulation processes between labour and management underlies a larger problem of inadequate competence and a lack of confidence by management to effect reform policies at a pace that is commensurate with desired economic growth.

Having provided an overview of work and motivation as it has emerged through this process of economic dualism, this discussion will be summed up by addressing some of the implications for economic growth in Fiji that have resulted or are likely to emerge from the particularities of this societal context.

Implications of economic dualism for work motivation in Fiji

The choice to view work and motivation in the Fijian context through the framework of economic dualism, has revealed interesting dimensions of labour-management relations as it has emerged in the period of colonialism, through independence, to the post-coup years of economic recovery in the 1990s. The implications of this contextual analysis of work and motivation may be viewed in three overlapping phases of development which not only shows the shifting emphasis in the status of work and motivation thinking, but that more importantly, these shifts are directly influenced by the dualistic nature of Fiji's industrialising process. The different phases are as follows:

- Phase I - 1874-1969 :work and motivation for economic growth
- Phase II - 1970-1986: work and motivation for economic productivity
- Phase III - 1987-1997: work and motivation for economic survival

The first phase covers the period of colonial rule up to the eve of political independence. From the examination of key stakeholders highlighted earlier several observations regarding the status of work and motivation can be drawn here. The first of these relate

to the emphasis placed on rapid and stable economic growth that the colonial power was intent on achieving in as short a time as possible. To this end, the colonial administration as a key stakeholder in this process of early economic growth, has been instrumental in establishing with other key players in this network of economic control, the appropriate legal and administrative machinery that systematically entrenched the emergence of what has been described as a benevolent work culture.

The second observation emanating from this period relates to the highly authoritarian nature of this emergent system of market-oriented production that the early workers were subjected to. Whilst among the ethnic Fijians their dualistic lifestyles subjected them to an authoritarian social tradition, this was further accentuated in an environment of paid work in which the management culture tended to be paternalistic and authoritarian. Linked to this was the overbearing system of 'divide and rule' whose system of governance propagated dualistic forms of policies and practices that over time, proved to have adverse effects on the rate of maximum allowable human resource contributions to overall economic growth in the country.

The final observation relates to the important changes in the notion of work that evolved in the transition from a predominantly peasant and non-market oriented mode to a distinct dualistic economic base that comprise a small but significant market-oriented sector. Although the literature on this issue highlights the contrasting features that polarise communalistic and individualistic tendencies in this process of change, the Fijian situation is a particular case in point that does not fall neatly into such a category, and as such is worthy of consideration here.

So far, it can be seen that colonialism as an interventionist agent of industrialisation has not resulted in the demise of the traditional social order of ethnic Fijians and while the power base of the chiefs may have been undermined and eroded over the years, traditional loyalties are still quite visible and active in the modern developing economy. The continuance of the traditional order within the new economic order and their respective value systems, suggests that a majority of partially committed workers in this partially industrialising economy is expected to become a distinct permanent fixture that will be around for some time yet. With this in mind, the strategies aimed at enhancing worker productivity would need to be cognisant of this particular uniqueness and respond in accordance with the given variables in a societal context. So while work and motivation thinking were directly imposed on the organisational systems of the emergent market economy, in general terms it occupied a very peripheral and non-strategic position in the broader mainstream functions of economic management that the state performed.

In turning to the second phase of work and motivation for economic productivity reflected in the years of economic boom that started in the late 60s and into the early years of the 1980s after Independence, several trends are discernible. With increased improvements and access in the social sectors of health and education, the potential physical and intellectual capacities of individuals, meant that in general more skilled, better educated and healthier workers were entering the paid workforce. It is being suggested here that a significant difference between the workers of this period and their counterparts in the colonial era, is seen in the exercise of better and more informed choices that the former had over the latter, which may have also contributed to the slight

improvement in the status of work and motivation thinking in organisational and management systems.

The notion of slight improvement is worth noting here because in tracing the parallel developments of public administration in the country, it should be noted that on the attainment of political independence, the majority of key management positions that were localised were filled in by the hand-picked proteges of a colonial administration. So whilst political independence replaced European superiors with local counterparts in senior public management positions, the anticipated satisfaction that was supposed to emanate from a move aimed at instilling a greater sense of national pride was not always forthcoming, as workers lower down the organisational strata began to see neocolonial forms of management practices and policies that seemed to perpetuate existing rigid social divisions on the basis of race, age and gender. It was widely understood that being managed by managers whose only formal training comprised the traditional internal exams of public administration, often posed a key obstacle in timely organisational change that were put forward by their more well educated subordinate staff. But as is the case with evolutionary processes, the pressures to reform the public sector in Fiji from international donors and lending agencies have significantly placed equal pressure on advancing HRM and ultimately work motivation, into a strategic position on the blueprint of a national productivity exercise that is being currently pursued.

Such a move has serious implications for maximising human resource capacities for economic growth that the recovery programmes in the post coup years are attempting to achieve. From the perspective of organisational change, it would be argued that unless

the preconditions of creating an awareness amongst managers and workers of the implications for such a change, in addition to an appropriate level of upgrading skills capacity amongst key line and staff functions to implement reform, are institutionally endorsed and maintained in an on-going process, the status of HRM initiatives will continue to be accorded lip-service recognition.

Despite this ominous scenario, there is in place, an important development amongst the professional management cadre of the developing market economy which may still hold the key to dismantling the overly cautious position towards a greater HRM approach to public sector reform. While the first phase saw a work environment in which local subordinates were managed by a predominantly European class, the second phase has seen the emergence of a local but colonially-inclined management strata, managing a better educated group of subordinates. Along the same principles of evolutionary management in this industrialising process, the third phase has seen the expansion of higher educational opportunities and increased specialised overseas training amongst the workers in the second phase, to return and take up key management positions in the third phase of economic survival.

Undoubtedly one would expect the current pressures of public sector reform in the years leading up to the twenty-first century to be very challenging, if it were not for the shift in manpower needs assessment in the country. For the current batch of managers and workers in the public sector whose tertiary training have significantly shifted from traditional public administration disciplines to more business-oriented focuses in the area of public management, development administration, finance and banking, legal studies, economics, the sciences and information technology, there is always a greater

possibility of similar value orientations between managers and workers converging at some point in the change process. When this happens, as is currently occurring on a slow ad hoc basis, the potential of HRM and indeed work motivation thinking attaining a more strategic position in mainstream management, in the wake of public sector reform will become an inevitable part of the broader move for more efficient and effectively managed public systems.

So while in general terms work and motivation thinking has a fairly low profile in the overall standing of management and organisational systems in the public sector, its potential to increase its status in the current agenda of public sector reform is somewhat inevitable. More importantly for this study, the relevance of examining work through economic dualism has contributed to the development of a holistic perspective that clearly links key stakeholders to systems of controlling economic activity. While the challenges of pursuing economic growth in this dualistic framework continue to be addressed in a climate of political fragility, the Fijian experience serves as an important reminder that the particularities of context plays a significant role on the diffusive capacities of strategic initiatives directed at achieving greater productivity.

Chapter 5

Data Collection and Analytical Framework

Introduction

Having located the issues affecting work and motivation in Fiji in Chapter 4, this chapter describes the process of data collection and the analytical framework developed for the thesis' case analysis. The discussion begins with a reassertion of the key research question and the links that the case studies attempt to forge with the central argument in the thesis. A descriptive overview of the methodology and the limitations of fieldwork is then undertaken. The final section will focus on the analytical framework of the three case studies.

Reasserting the research question: establishing links

This discussion links the major findings of researchers on work motivation as they emerge from the literature survey in Chapters 2 and 3, to Fiji. The literature survey reached the following broad findings on work motivation:

- 1) that the level of motivation is directly linked to the level of commitment of the workforce, which in turn is determined by the level of industrialisation;
- 2) that work motivation is strongly influenced by external factors and cannot be effectively managed through an exclusive emphasis on intrinsic factors;
- 3) that Eurocentric notions of 'rational' and 'market-oriented' behaviour in the workplace, need to be adapted to the socio-cultural particularities of developing industrialising contexts, if strategies for motivational techniques aimed at enhancing productivity in the workplace are to be effectively utilised in such contexts;
- 1) that in the context of a developing market economy and perhaps especially in a dual economy such as Fiji's, it is particularly important that HRM be located at the core of management thinking and practices so that its strategic potential in addressing motivational capacities is well placed in the growth of a productivity culture.

Having determined these broad findings, Chapter 4 reinforces these observations by focusing on the extent to which the particularities of Fiji's industrialising experience have resulted in the under-utilisation and peripheralised status of work motivation thinking in management practice. The case studies in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 illustrate that even at the micro level, work motivation is largely influenced by external factors reflected in workers' perceptions and attitudes to a range of interrelated issues in the workplace. Further, work motivation as a core management function has the potential to exist and operate in any organisational form. Indeed the necessity for motivation may be even greater in 'developing' economies precisely because normative social attitudes are not market-oriented and workers do not bring to the workplace motivations that are rooted in industrial culture.

Choosing case studies and field instruments

There is little case study material which records work motivation experiences in developing market economies generally, and particularly in small island states in the South Pacific. As seen in the contextual overview in Chapter 4, Fiji's experience has resulted in a distinctively dualistic economy. A peculiar mix of traditional, non-western and modern, western and market-oriented consumptive lifestyles, reinforce a seemingly semi-permanent coexistence of institutional frameworks in society. From such an arrangement, key stakeholders responsible for controlling and directing processes of economic production, emerge and interact in a systematic network of relationships that have resulted in the emergence of a benevolent work culture. This in turn has influenced the degree to which work motivation thinking has been assimilated into the organisational and management culture of a developing system of market-oriented production.

The methodology of this thesis is a conventional research approach in two parts. The first comprising the conceptual framework, attempts to locate work motivation thinking in Fiji through a comparative focus. The second part of the thesis reports the results of a study of three service agencies in Fiji's aviation industry. While these case studies provide much needed insights into the particularities of key stakeholders at the level of the workplace, and the impact of these interrelationships on enhanced productivity, on a broader level, it is also anticipated that the analysis accruing from these studies will contribute to wider academic debates on work motivation.

It seems appropriate that a review of the rationale used in the choice of the three organisations be recast here for purposes of clarity and direction. The reasons which guided the choice of these organisations are listed as follows.

- 1) The choice of the service sector and indeed public sector organisations reflects the reality that these are the largest employers both in absolute terms and in respect of potential growth. The choice of the three service agencies namely, Air Terminal Services (ATS), Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji (CAAF), and the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism (DCAT), was made because they represent three different organisational forms within one industry. In brief, ATS is a partly worker-owned enterprise with government holding majority shares through CAAF and registered as a private liability company. CAAF is a statutory authority and DCAT is a government department. So this study permits an examination of the use and difficulties of motivational strategies among different organisational forms with a high profile on service provision and orientation. The fact that all three forms exist within the aviation industry, provided an added advantage in terms of logistics and methodology with access to data and constancy of industry variables.

- 2) The fact that the aviation industry is public sector dominated was also significant. In the context of structural adjustment that small island states are pursuing, there is a greater need to document the experiences of motivation in public sector agencies for two main reasons. Firstly in view of the significant roles that they perform in managing for economic development, it seems likely that public sector agencies will be pressured into realigning structures, goals and strategies to conform with changing economic policies. Secondly, it is suggested that the relative value attached to notions of successful practices in industry tend to overwhelm any parallel measure directed at public sector agencies. For this reason, the choice of public sector agencies may allow a testing of the idea that the most successful practices in industry may not necessarily be the best option for the public sector.
- 3) The assumptions of benevolence and patronage inherent in the traditional social order of Fiji, which have coalesced with a colonial legacy, have been firmly etched into the work culture of this developing market economy. In turn this has instilled a sense of patriotism and authoritarianism pervading the perceptions and attitudes of workers in public sector agencies. Given this inclination, it may be argued that worker behaviour among public sector employees may trigger varying degrees of territorial responses in upholding a sense of duty, in keeping with the wider assumptions of the state as the ward and custodian of public interests. The extent to which this ethos influences organisational and management cultures and ultimately employee behaviour in the workplace, provides important insights into how political context influences the use and difficulties of innovative ideas for change. Increasing pressure from the wider forces of economic rationalistic thinking and the particularities of dualism, imply a need to further examine and appreciate the nature

of public sector agencies in economic development, and their potential in utilising alternative management strategies directed at increased productivity.

These issues then form the basis for the choice of the three aviation industry agencies. While the study does not lay any claim to universality for the whole public sector, it shows that the particularities of the wider context of organisations impact upon worker perceptions and behaviour that may be discernible beyond these organisations. The discussion will now provide an overview of the field instruments used and the design of the survey sample.

Permission to conduct fieldwork in the aviation industry was initially obtained from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Suva, Fiji, with subsequent clearances by the managements of ATS, CAAF and DCAT. Due to the nature of the research topic, the main field instruments used both quantitative and qualitative techniques. The latter were a series of structured questionnaires and the former a series of interviews. For the purposes of developing a framework of case analysis, the component parts of the case study would comprise both primary and secondary sources.

The quantitative aspects of perceptions of employees, general management, and unions on a range of issues in the workplace have been adapted from three of the five questionnaires in the Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (AWIRS). The three questionnaires in the AWIRS package which were used in all three organisations were; 1) an Employee Survey (Appendix 5.1), 2) a General Management Questionnaire (Appendix 5.2) and 3) a Union Delegate questionnaire (Appendix 5.3). The issues influencing the choice of the AWIRS as a guide, highlight the extent to which the

underlying rationale of this national survey relates in a significant way to the Fijian situation.

The development of AWIRS as a national comprehensive primary data source providing significant insights into industrial relations in the Australian workplace has provided a basis for understanding systems of labour-management operations at the micro level (Callus,1991). While some commentators have offered alternative views to those provided by AWIRS in terms of maximising the survey's potential for informed policy debate (Plowman,1991), reconstructing typologies and the extent to which a degree of generalisability of assumptions to the broader context is possible (Gardner,1991), there is a general consensus amongst scholars that AWIRS has been one of the most informative surveys that have encapsulated changing issues of labour and industry in the 1980s and 1990s (Callus, 1991).

While the British Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (BWIRS) from which the AWIRS gained initial insights "developed in response to the problem of unofficial strikes and a perceived breakdown of order at workplaces" (Callus,1991:450), the Australian interest in the workplace was influenced by a convergence of policy shifts in the mid 1980s (Callus,1991:451), and an attempt to fill the gap in research "in the area of shop floor industrial relations" (Blain and Plowman,1987:310). The renewed interest in the latter gained momentum when it was recognised that incompatibilities existed in the way labour-management problems were identified and the manner in which they were resolved.

In Australia the most significant industrial relations problem has typically been seen as one of high levels of industrial dispute, yet for decades, policy and research focused not on workplace industrial relations, as one might expect, but on institutions beyond the workplace, particularly the arbitration system (Callus,1991:450).

While the AWIRS is a product of an open consultative framework between academia, industry and the state, an important point is that all the key stakeholders involved in controlling and directing labour-management issues in the workplace have been given prominence in the different questionnaires. In linking the holistic approach to labour-management relations that AWIRS has used, its relevance to an examination of work motivation in Fiji is reflected in the central argument of this study. That while labour-management-state relations is particularised by the level of industrialisation, work motivation as a phenomena of this relationship can only be understood when viewed within this overall context. So while this Fiji study is focused on examining work motivation in the public sector, the conversion of this intent into a research tool was made after it was recognised that the comprehensive data base of an AWIRS equivalence had the potential to provide informative insights on systems of labour-management relations at the micro level.

A major reason for the suitability of AWIRS to Fiji public organisations is the common bureaucratic heritage reflected in the colonial institutional transfer of centralised systems of labour-management structures and the associated norms of a paternalistic management culture. In terms of relevance, the AWIRS package presented a categorical distinction of the key stakeholders in the organisational setting. Its appeal in this study can be seen in the way in which these issues have emerged in both the motivational literature and the significance of stakeholder interests as they are articulated in Fijian work organisations.

An additional factor worth noting is the significance of developing and initiating change in labour-management relations at the micro level, highlighted in the methodological

preparation and survey implementation of the AWIRS. This approach is particularly relevant because the focus in these Fijian case studies is to show how current labour management practices address the motivational potential of workers at the level of the workplace. The ability to use a largely primary data source from the AWIRS and expand into a range of secondary analysis in any of the related disciplines (Callus,1991:465) was also an important factor in the choice of the AWIRS package.

While a low return of questionnaires was initially anticipated in the preparatory stages of fieldwork, the actual returns were sufficient for analytical purposes. The guidelines for the choice of sampling technique was drawn from Moser and Kalton's (1971) work on *Survey Methods in Social Investigation*. Since the characteristics of public bureaucracies feature high degrees of vertical structures with distinct functional clusters, it was decided that in order for the sample group to be representative, a stratified random sample (Moser and Kalton,1971:80-87) would be adequate. On this basis, the variables of ethnicity, gender and occupational grouping were chosen and every fourth name was selected from the master staff listing of ATS and CAAF so that. all occupational groups and both genders were represented. The exception to this sampling rule was the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism where the small size of the workforce allowed for an inclusion of all employees.

The final transfer of this research framework to the Fiji situation was completed in Fiji after the responses of a pilot test in a randomly selected group of sixteen participants representing employees, management, and unions in other public sector agencies, led to an adapted version of the original questionnaires. With regards to establishing future links in this area of research, it is recognised that the use of a social survey tool like that

of the AWIRS has many advantages for small developing island economies. A major advantage is that its status as a nationally acknowledged survey tool provides a basis for potentially interesting comparative studies derived from replication.

The choice of sample size was obtained from the guidelines offered by Moser and Kalton(1971) who suggest that, depending on the degree of precision required and the degree of standard error that would be tolerated, the following assumption provides a rule of thumb.

The decision on sample size will in fact be largely governed by the way the results are to be analysed, so that the researcher must at the outset consider, at least in broad terms, the breakdowns to be made in the final tabulations. He can then work out roughly what numbers are needed in *each sub-group* to give the desired precision for that sub-group, and hence what total sample size would be desirable-it may, of course, be well beyond what is practicable (Moser and Kalton,1971:148-149).

With this in mind and the constraints of time, costs and practical limitations involved in increasing the sample size, the aim of ensuring that the actual sample of employees remained between five and ten percent of the total workforce in each organisation, was adopted. The pilot nature of this survey instrument in Fiji was also taken into account in establishing a modest initial target.

Given the vertical organisational structures in these public sector agencies and the distinctive categories of line and staff functions inherent in these work systems, it was decided that (in anticipation of a low response rate,) the actual returns would constitute the working sample for this study in view of the fact that the variables of ethnicity, gender and occupational grouping which formed the initial basis of this sample would be reflected.

Due to the nature of occupational clusters in these organisations, a sample group from each of these job categories was deemed sufficient for this study. Keeping the survey small rather than being involved in a larger, time-consuming exercise was important. Investigating all the individual constituents in all the occupational groups was unnecessary as the final results may not be that significantly different from a sample group that included representatives from the respective job clusters.

A sample size between 5 and 10 percent was seen as adequate for the purposes of case analysis. The final sample of 131 employees out of a total of 1,236 workers in the three organisations constituted 10.6 percent of the total workforce and may be considered to be an acceptable size for developing a data base from which some form of reliable generalised finding may be extracted. Table 5.1 provides a breakdown of the sampling constituents in each of the three organisations used for case analysis showing the actual percentage of respondents in each organisation that participated in the survey.

Table 5.1 Employee survey sample in the three case agencies

Name of workplace	Total number of workers in workplace	Number of survey forms given out	Percent of workplace total	Number of survey forms returned	Percent of workplace total
ATS	412	103	25	43	10
CAAF	791	198	25	66	8
DCAT	33	33	100	22	67

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from field survey, Fiji, October 1995-March 1996.

The process of fieldwork

The following sequence of activities reflects the process of data collection undertaken in Fiji during six months of fieldwork from October 1995 to March 1996.

- 1) **October 1995.** Questionnaires were pilot tested, readapted, and codified in Suva. Courtesy calls to the offices of ATS and CAAF in Nadi to establish logistics of data collection, were arranged through the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism.
- 2) **November 1995 to January 1996.** Three officers who were based with the personnel sections in the three case agencies were chosen to act as liaison officers for the period of research. Three master staff listings were obtained for developing a stratified sample. Variables used for the determination of the sample were ethnicity, gender and occupational grouping. In anticipation of possible low response rates an initial twenty to twenty five percent (20-25%) sample of total employees in all three case agencies would be used, with an attempt at ensuring that the final returns be not lower than five percent (5%) of the total workforce. 334 questionnaires for the employee survey were prepared and colour coded for each organisation (ATS;green, CAAF;white, and DCAT;pink). The other two questionnaires only required singular responses from officers who perform designated functions in general management and/or HRM or personnel functions and union officials representing workers' interests in the workplace. The three liaison officers in each of the agencies served as distribution and collection points for the employee survey questionnaire. The singular response required in the other two questionnaires was administered by the researcher, while the employee survey was self- administered by the respondents.
- 3) **February 1996.** Interviews and consultations were also undertaken with a range of individuals in public and private sectors whose work profiles included industrial relations, worker participation, labour-management relations, productivity issues, public personnel practices, new trends in management practices directed at enhancing productivity like Total Quality Management (TQM) and Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI), labour reform measures, employers' association and

productivity measures in the Fiji public service. A list of interviewees is provided in Appendix 5.4. Employee survey forms were also collected, decodified and entered into a database. The other two questionnaires were also completed during this period.

- 4) **March 1996.** Follow ups on aspects of work motivation from initial gleanings of raw data resulted in informal discussions with other management personnel and employees in each of the case agencies. It also provided an opportunity to collect reports and unpublished documents for additional data sources.

In attempting to redress the high possibility of low commitment and minimal survey and questionnaire response rates, an open and consultative approach was undertaken. It entailed the following steps:

- 1) a meeting with senior executive managers in the three organisations in which the aims of the study were outlined and endorsement to proceed was reconfirmed;
- 2) the despatch of an official memorandum from the personnel manager to all section heads requesting support for the filling in of the employee survey form distributed to the selected sample, and
- 3) an explanatory note from the principal researcher attached at the top of each employee survey form which briefly outlined the aims of the study and instructions pertaining to the filling in of the questionnaire (Appendix 5.5).

The response rates were influenced by extenuating circumstances and ongoing labour-management tensions that were beyond the control of the principal researcher but it did however, provide interesting insights into current practices of labour-management relations.

Limitations of fieldwork

While qualitative techniques such as unstructured interviews, observation of group activity and informal discussions served to complement the survey data through cross-

referencing and for explanatory purposes, the restrictions of Fijian traditional norms pertaining to social class, age and gender influenced fieldwork significantly. Despite its recognition in the preparatory stages of fieldwork, the predominantly male workplaces in these agencies and the normative frameworks governing division of labour resulted in a subtle but distinct initial reaction of suspicion and mistrust towards the local female principal researcher.

In terms of the reliability of the data one can only assume that while the problem of English interpretation would be subject to so many intervening factors, the generally high literacy level of this workforce meant that for those in the sample group that may have had a somewhat limited command of the English language, there was someone readily available to assist in translation and interpretation.

The variables of gender and social class on my own part had disadvantages. The sight of an educated Fijian woman of chiefly class breaking ranks to pursue fieldwork influenced acceptance on the one hand and avoidance on the other among some respondents. This disadvantage was to some extent perceived through the framework of an 'insider/outsider' distinction; a common issue of research ethics well represented in the literature and the particular subject of an informed discourse by Headland, Pike and Harris(eds.)(1990).

The problem of non-response reflected in the low returns in the questionnaires, non appearance of potential interviewees at scheduled appointments, 'unavailability' of certain key informants after initial confirmation of availability, and tokenistic support on

the part of some middle managers in public agencies who displayed a degree of resentment towards the presence of 'a local expert', resulted in temporary delays.

The limitations of fieldwork described here may have an influence on the quality of the data from the employee survey. For these reasons and as a pointer to future research they serve to remind the researcher in the social sciences that no tool of enquiry can be entirely flawless. The criticisms of methodology and reliability of data directed at the early motivational studies illustrate that the processes that influence individual behaviour in the workplace, are never totally visible to outsiders. The constraints of time and circumstances in a research framework such as those which comprise this study has an added difficulty because employee motivation is a sensitive topic which always runs the risk of producing 'expected' rather than 'actual' responses from respondents themselves.

Establishing a framework of analysis

The post field period has entailed a continuing survey of the literature in addition to the use of a computer based Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), to assist in interpreting statistics compiled in the employee survey. Table 5.2 shows the overall sample of employees surveyed in the three organisations by occupational categories and while they reflect the range of standard occupational groupings in most organisations the presence or absence of any particular group is determined by the nature of functions.

Table 5.2 Employee survey sample by occupational grouping and workplace

Occupational grouping of employee sample	Air Terminal Services (ATS)	Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji (CAAF)	Department of Civil Aviation & Tourism (DCAT)
Managers and administrators	6	4	2
Professionals	3	8	n.a.
Para-professionals	3	14	n.a.
Tradespersons	10	12	n.a.
Clerks	11	11	17
Salespersons and personal service workers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Plant and machine operators and drivers	6	4	3
Labourers and related workers	4	13	-
Total number of employees surveyed	43	66	22

Source: Based on data collected from field survey, October 1995-March 1996, Fiji.

These occupational categories have been drawn from the original cast used in the AWIRS. Its replication to the Fijian situation has been made possible by identifying component features of similar job titles in the master staff listings of the case agencies. Having sorted out the functional clusters, the Fijian job listings were placed alongside the AWIRS classification system with the latter being used as the benchmark in finalising the occupational groupings. It is more than likely that the presence or absence of any particular occupational grouping has more to do with the nature of the organisational function rather than the fact that it does not have the potential to exist there. A full listing of all survey respondents showing the range of age, ethnicity, gender and occupational grouping is provided in Appendix 5.6.

This approach has shown that the similarity of organisational forms has enabled particular aspects of the survey instrument to be replicated for research in the field. In essence therefore, a relatively similar occupational classification in the Fiji public sector is further proof of the continued influence of the British colonial model of organisational and management constructs. Although the clustering of numbers for each group may vary according to the nature of the organisational function, one can expect this vertical arrangement of line and staff functions. In linking this to the study at hand, it may be argued that since the characteristics of formal bureaucratic systems in place in the Fiji public sector reflect similar structural arrangements of public sector systems elsewhere, there is an inherent logic for replicating organisational practices and methods. Although the rationale makes sense, the logic is far from simple in the Fijian situation. As these case studies will show, the particularities of context may have a significant impact on the extent to which organisational systems are able to implement work motivation initiatives.

Given that all three organisations were administered common questionnaires for gauging the perceptions of employees, management and union activity in the workplace, an explanation of their relevance to this study on motivation is provided as a background to the analysis that will be undertaken in each respective case.

An overview of organisational history provides an understanding of labour-management relationships in the growth of the workplace and forms the basis upon which the study examines the contemporary nature of this relationship. Given that management, unions and employees perform important interdependent functions in an organisational setting, an examination of their respective roles in this particular context draws out the extent to

which this network of stakeholders influences the capacity of management systems to effectively utilise the motivational potential of its employees.

The presentation of findings from the employee survey is undertaken in two main sections. The first which looks at personal biodata and the socio-economic status of employees provide insights into employee background which are likely to influence the inclinations of employee responses with special reference to human resource development (HRD) indicators. Given the particular interest on motivation and the high levels of subjectivity associated with this type of research, the following explanations of relevance which form the basis of emphasis underlying the use of each question, also provides parameters for a more informed and objective analysis.

- 1 **Age.** Showing an employee's age was important in finding out if age influenced perception towards the formation of interactive processes between individuals and between groups in the workplace.
- 2 **Ethnicity.** This question was aimed at showing ethnic representativeness in the workplace and the extent to which ethnicity is likely to influence employee perceptions and behaviour.
- 3 **Gender.** The importance of the gender question was aimed at finding out the extent to which the workplace was sensitive to gender needs and the degree of gender equity promoted therein.
- 4 **Level of education.** Ascertaining the educational levels of employees provides insights into the degree of awareness that employees project on aspects of work and change(s) in the workplace. In this sense, there is a link between literacy levels and employee attitudes. So while the relationship between education and individual behaviour is not remarkable, the particular interest of this relationship for motivation,

is the added influence of socio-cultural factors in further shaping employee perceptions and attitudes.

- 5 **Language.** Determining the language used in the home and in the workplace was necessary for finding out the extent of English language use among dual language speakers and the extent to which this may influence employee interpretation and application.
- 6 **Marital status and household composition.** Combining marital status and household composition were aimed at illustrating the social habits of a home environment which impact on employee behaviour.
- 7 **Health condition and caring.** This question was deemed important because it showed the impact of cultural notions of health as reflected in employees' assessment of their physical well-being and the demands of caring functions they are required to undertake. The relevance to motivation is seen in the extent to which non work related needs impinge upon employee commitment to work priorities.
- 8 **Years at work.** The length of time on the job was necessary because of the implied relationship between work experience and employee commitment.
- 9 **Gross weekly income.** Ascertaining the gross weekly income of these respondents was necessary for providing a general assessment of the impact of income level on employee behaviour.

The second part of the data analysis was directed at gaining an insight into employees' perceptions and attitudes to work in general and to particular aspects of the job. The following discussion provides a brief outline of the underlying rationale that links these issues to motivational aspects examined in this study:

- 1 **Employee response to work in general.** This question focused on obtaining an overview of employee response to work in general. Its relevance is reflected in an ability to gauge the degree of enthusiasm and commitment to work and in this sense it sets the tone of employee responses to the later questions covered in this section.
- 2 **Employee response to provisions on the job.** This was necessary because it illustrated the relationship between individual expectations and the relevance of work provisions in meeting needs.
- 3 **Employee response to options for time off.** Options for time off work was considered relevant because their choice involved cultural attitudes that influence the degree of employee commitment.
- 4 **Employee response to change at work.** Obtaining employee responses to changes at work was necessary because it involved cultural perceptions of change that impact upon employee behaviour and motivation.
- 5 **Employee response to change in the last 12 months.** The difference between this and the previous question relates to the time factor. Of particular interest was finding out if there was any significant difference in the assessment of change in general and change in a specific time frame.
- 6 **Employee response to consultation types.** Employees' choice of consultation types was necessary because it involved cultural influences of authority and its impact on interactive processes which further shape commitment to superior-subordinate relationships in the workplace.
- 7 **Employee influence on work.** Levels of influence were deemed relevant because they involved cultural attitudes that shape individual perceptions of control.

- 8 **Employee satisfaction at work.** The need to ascertain employee satisfaction in this study was significant because of the cultural influence on the notion of satisfaction and its impact on employee behaviour.
- 9 **Employee contentment at work.** Like the previous question on satisfaction, employee contentment has a cultural bias which would reflect on employee commitment and was seen as a necessary item to ask.
- 10 **Employee motives to work.** The question surrounding motives to work was relevant because of the influence that socio-cultural perceptions of needs have on motives to work

The analytical framework for the case studies constitutes both quantitative and qualitative components and while it draws much of its inspiration from the format of the AWIRS findings the final choice in the presentation of the data for this study has been adapted to suit the research objectives of this thesis. An initial consideration that has guided data analysis has been the small size of the employee sample. Although variables of ethnicity, gender and occupational grouping were used to obtain a representative sample, the analysis and presentation of data is mostly confined to descriptive statistics.

Unless stated otherwise the main sources of information for these case studies are primary sources of questionnaires and unstructured interviews. In keeping with the assurances of confidentiality given to respondents during the process of fieldwork, reference to primary sources will be made by ethnicity, gender, age category, occupational grouping and workplace. In also maintaining the essence of voice the articulated opinions of employees' responses to particular aspects of work are presented as is without any grammatical reconstruction. The relevance of this to behavioural

studies of this nature is that among non native English speaking employees, the degree of voice projects important aspects of the wider context in which organisations exist.

Due to the under-representativeness of ethnicity and gender in the actual sample, cross tabulations were not undertaken as a precaution against conflating the degree of reliability and predictability of data. In addressing this shortfall, it was felt that a more reliable option for addressing issues of work from ethnic and gender positions be obtained through unstructured interviews. Where it was deemed that gender and ethnicity may have influenced employees' response(s) to certain issues in the workplace, a broader view was sought through informal discussions with other employees outside of the survey group. These responses served to clarify the initial responses obtained from the employee survey and have been built into the analytical process throughout the case studies.

Each case study comprises four sections. The first section provides an overview of the organisational background focusing on important historical aspects that have impacted on contemporary arrangements of labour-management relationships in the workplace. The second addresses the role of management with a particular emphasis on management's perceptions of aspects of work. The role of unions in the workplace is addressed in the third section, which attempts to bring out a union view on how it interacts with the other stakeholders through the performance of its tasks in the workplace. As a key player the union's position was necessary for understanding the forces of influence that impact on employee behaviour and motivation. The fourth section looks at employees' responses to a wide range of issues at work with a particular interest in the kinds of factors that may influence employee motivation. This analytical

framework will show that at the micro level, there are particularities of context that have an immediate bearing on employee behaviour which in turn influences the way in which management systems may be able to utilise the motivational potential of its employees.

Chapter 6

Case Study 1: Air Terminal Services Limited

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three case studies of factors affecting employee motivation in service organisations. In considering the extent to which the particularities of context influence employee behaviour, the benevolent work culture legacy of colonialism is seen to have had a major impact on the context in which labour management practices address the motivational potential of workers. This notion of benevolence is portrayed through the insights of three interest groups in the workplace, namely general management, union officials and the employees themselves. The data and analysis are presented in four sections. The first looks at the organisational background, providing insight into historical circumstances that assist in understanding the contemporary issues of labour-management relationships in the workplace. The other three sections examine the perceptions of management, union officials, and employees, to decipher attitudes to various aspects of work and their impact on work motivation.

Organisational background

The formation of Air Terminal Services (ATS) in 1980 as a partially worker-owned and locally controlled enterprise replacing the Australian-owned company of Qantas, was a culmination of consultations that marked a significant milestone in the history of industrial relations in Fiji. After due consideration of the Qantas reports of 1973 and 1975; the Saggar report of 1976, the Chan Chat Sow report of 1979 and the proposal by the Federated Airlines Staff Association (FASA) (Chand, 1988:134), the Fiji

Government's decision to form a company resulted in a cabinet directive that stipulated equal shareholding by the Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji (CAAF), Air Pacific, and the employees. Air Pacific's withdrawal from this venture on the basis that such an arrangement was not deemed feasible, resulted in the government, through CAAF, holding 51 percent of the shares with the remaining 49 percent equity held by ATS workers through a trust called the Air Terminal Services Employees Trust (ATSET). The maintenance of this trust is provided for in an entitlement of a FJ\$2,500 block of shares for each employee on attaining union membership. This financial concession to ATS employees who join the union serves a dual purpose. First it involves employees directly in the future of the company through a financial stake aimed at providing an added incentive to maintain high standards of efficiency and performance. Second and in the long term it guarantees continuity of the workers' interests within the company.

The Government's support in guaranteeing the initial loan to ensure an employee interest was a new development in labour-management relations in Fiji. It illustrated options of enhancing consultative partnerships. Given the fact that this partially worker-owned entity is the only one of its kind in Fiji, its novelty has become a particular focus of interest among policymakers, academia and industry. Policies aimed at economic growth see the ATS model as one of many options in the search for viable strategies of corporatisation and privatisation for the public sector.

Located beside the Nadi International Airport on the western side of the main island of Viti Levu, ATS is the sole provider of all ground-handling services in the aviation industry. For convenience of discussion and given the normal turnover in organisational change, the situation of ATS as of January 1996 is taken as constant. Of the total 460

people on the payroll, twenty are located in staffing functions pertaining to Administration, Finance and Management Information Systems (MIS) while the rest are employed in the three line areas of Technical Services, Catering Services, and Traffic and Cargo Services. Although the majority shares are owned by the Government through CAAF, ATS is registered as a private liability company. As principal owners, however, the Government's interest is visible through the membership of the ATS board through the one guaranteed CAAF seat and through the ministerial endorsement of other board members. Control in the workplace from the government is similarly indirect through CAAF's involvement in major policies that the ATS board endorses.

Operational control for these policies remains in the hands of the management at ATS. While occupational groupings in the workplace include managers, professionals, para-professionals, tradespersons, clerks, sales and personal service workers, plant and machine operators, as well as labourers and unskilled workers, the largest group includes traffic agents, whose job descriptions incorporate a blend of clerical and personal service-type work. Table 6.1 illustrates the numbers in the larger job categories in the three operational areas.

Table 6.1 Employee numbers of the larger job categories in key functional areas at ATS

Technical Services	Catering Services	Traffic & Cargo Services
Aircraft Maintenance Engineers (17)	Catering Attendants (42)	Traffic Agents (57)
Engineering Assistants (9)	Airline Cooks (29)	Porter Equipment Drivers (38)
Equipment Maintenance Mechanics (7)	Cooks Assistants (25)	Control Agents (18)
	Catering Attendant Drivers (11)	JCPL Transport Drivers (17)

Source: Adapted from ATS Management paper on "Ethnic Staffing Composition/Manpower Needs", 1995, ATS, Fiji.

The emphasis on high levels of specialist skills reflected in a professional and technical labour corps in this workplace is not surprising, given that the main type of activity undertaken focuses on ground handling services to all aircraft. This activity includes aircraft servicing and engineering works, cabin servicing and traffic handling in terms of customer and cargo services. This workplace also houses the corporate head office and performs administrative functions and service provisions from the same location. The major clients for ATS include international operators like Fiji's national carrier Air Pacific, Air New Zealand and Qantas and Korean Air, and regional operators like Air Nauru, Solomon Airlines, Polynesian Airlines, Air Caledonie and Airline of the Marshall Islands.

Decisions about this workplace are usually shared between the ATS Board and management in a fairly distinct manner. In terms of the management practices impacting upon the areas with which this study is concerned, the Board decides on broader financial issues such as the use of any budgetary surplus, any proposed reduction in the number of full-time employees, and any measures directed at a new bonus or incentive scheme for employees. Management on the other hand decides on the negotiation of an enterprise or workplace agreement.

The current management's position towards relationships in labour-management consultative processes, within the organisation and with external agencies like the Fiji Employers Federation (FEF), and the Fiji National Training Council (FNTC), illustrate that the employee ownership scheme has made ATS a showcase in industrial democracy. Prasad's (1995) study on labour-management relations in ATS provided insights on staff-management consultation in areas of personnel management and wage

bargaining. It reveals a shared management-employee determination to protect the future direction and growth of the company. While this reflects many of the ideals of industrial democracy, certain exceptions need to be noted. For as long as there is a guaranteed monopoly on ground handling services, the call to protect ATS's interests in the wake of Air Pacific's expressed intentions of undertaking its own ground handling operations on its re-location to Nadi, provides a stumbling block in the Government's own push for increased deregulation.

This conflict of interests is compounded by the fact that the government as the majority shareholder in both ATS and Air Pacific, has direct representation on both boards. Generally speaking, while ATS has succeeded in fulfilling the initial expectations of its first decade as a partially worker-owned enterprise based on collective bargaining between the union and the employer, there is still much to be gained in the area of work motivation which has not been significantly addressed in either management practice or earlier studies, and to which this discussion will now turn.

Management at ATS

The questionnaire on general management at ATS was completed by the Personnel Manager who also sits on the board as an employee's representative through ATSET. With a background in engineering, his management experience developed from an active union role on the shopfloor in the formative years of ATS, to a career path that took him into the ranks of senior management. Given the HRM focus in this study and the relevance of this senior personnel manager's experience, he was the optimal choice to represent the management view, with input from the other managers solicited through unstructured interviews.

Besides the Chief Executive, there are six line managers heading the departments of Personnel, Finance, Information Systems, Technical Services, Catering Services and Traffic and Cargo Services. While it is recognised amongst management that ATS is a unique entity which enjoys a monopoly in an area of the aviation industry that attracts a level of protection from government, a growing concern was evident among senior managers that "the high wages and generous employment benefits are not reflected in productivity in the workplace" (Fijians, males, 40-49 years, managers, ATS).

In terms of workplace performance, management estimates that approximately 70 percent of total costs at the workplace are taken up in labour costs. The impression that employees waste work time is clear in anecdotes such as that relayed to the Personnel Manager from the Catering Services section where it was said that "workers play around with cooking skills for purposes of overtime" (Fijian, male, 40-49years, manager, ATS). Other managers report work behaviour ranging from subtle acts of sabotage in terms of delaying completion schedules of certain jobs to an intentional avoidance of required procedures in performing certain tasks. The recent introduction of a continuous quality management (CQM) program known as Customer Smiles in 1996 intends to provide some benchmarking procedure.

The issue of labour productivity and its measurement is highly sensitive. Management not only faces difficulty in establishing standards, but also resentment from the workforce over perceived "unfairness". The absence of specific productivity measurement strategies for employees has resulted in management using attendance rates as the major indicator of worker productivity. This, however, is not to say that productivity at this workplace is dismal. Managers are of the view that even against

their major competitor, Air Pacific, which has taken over their own engineering requirements, ATS still has a slightly leading edge in productivity (Fijians and Indians, males, 40-49 years, managers, ATS).

Product and service quality in the workplace are measured through on-time performance indicators. The concept is based on measures of turnaround time which focus on the ability to provide ground handling services to client airlines in the required time. The example given in this study refers to Air New Zealand, whose request for a turnaround time of one hour required that all cabin services, engineering requirements and traffic handling be provided within this time frame. On-time meetings are held on a monthly basis, with all operational managers attending and reporting on performance levels of their respective sections. A third indicator regarding wastage rates was being put into place in 1996 as part of the new quality program. While these key performance indicators are collected at all levels of the organisation, the strategic levels at which these are monitored are with the departments.

As an aspect of management systems the formal interactive networks reflected in the nature of superior-subordinate relationships are relevant to motivation because the expectations ingrained in cultural norms associated with role modelling and mentoring become important stimulants underlying employee behaviour. To this end the insight into management's assessment of this relationship attempts to bring out the gap in expectations between the ideal and the actual tendencies of employee relations.

The relationship between employees and management in ATS is described by management as 'amicable and generally good'. In obtaining management's response,

eleven statements on aspects of employee relations were provided and managers were asked to 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. As part of the questionnaire for general management the responses were obtained from two sources. The first was the Personnel Manager's input on the questionnaire and the second was from unstructured interviews with the other five line managers. Table 6.2 brings these responses together to illustrate the overview level of contentment of ATS managers on various aspects of this relationship.

Table 6.2 Management's level of contentment with aspects of employee relations at ATS

Aspects of the workplace	Level of agreement among managers
A. Establishing a corporate ethic and workplace culture	strongly agree
B. Managers would choose quality improvements over labour cost reductions	agree
C. Management prefer to deal directly with employees and not through unions	strongly agree
D. Management here thinks that the award system has worked well in the past for this workplace	disagree
E. Management here thinks that negotiating with groups of employees or their unions over pay and conditions is a better option to the award system	agree
F. Management here would prefer to negotiate individual contracts with each employee to set their wages and conditions	disagree
G. Management here believe negotiating of workplace or enterprise agreement will lead to improved workplace performance	agree
H. This organisation currently devotes resources to HRM in this workplace	strongly agree
I. Unions representing employees here keep their word	agree
J. Unions here are seen by management as effectively representing members' views	agree
K. Management here would not mind dealing with trade unions should any employee join one	agree

Source: Based on data collected from General Management Questionnaire and unstructured interviews in ATS field survey, Fiji.

These responses are not remarkable given the nature of worker participation in ATS. Given the history of this worker and Government owned enterprise outlined above managers could be expected to project an image of commitment to harmonious relationships between employees and management. Nonetheless while management is generally satisfied with its relationship with employees, concerns raised regarding effective union representation in the workplace and levels and frequencies of communication between managers and their subordinates in some departments were noted as a cause for concern. This was illustrated in responses concerned with technological change.

Changes in the workplace have impacted in different ways on employees. The recent purchase of a main deck loader from America with dual functions in cargo and passenger handling, and new office technology, are seen by managers to have had beneficial effects in the workplace. While the former has resulted in a reduction of physical stress and stress-related injury associated with the manual nature of traffic and freight handling, the new loading equipment has made "the intensity of manual work much easier and psychologically more endurable" (Fijian, male, 40-49 years, manager, ATS). In terms of expanding computerisation, it has exposed employees to the vast potential of information technology by providing alternatives to efficient office management and work practices.

Management is also of the view that the occupational groups that have been most affected by these changes were the less highly trained such as clerks, plant and machine operators/drivers, and labourers and unskilled workers. The level of involvement by employees in the implementation of change has, however, varied. Typically senior

managers have been fully involved, with some involvement from employees likely to be affected, but none whatsoever from union representatives in the workplace or employees as a whole. Consultative processes relating to the form of implementing these changes are conducted at two levels. The first involves formal meetings with those employees affected by the change. The second takes place in a specially constituted committee consisting of section and union representatives tasked with responsibility for considering the particular change. Despite lack of greater consultation with union representatives and the wider workforce management has acknowledged the degree of cooperation in change received from both the union and from employees within the organisation at large.

On the whole, this study found that management style in this workplace is inclined to be participative rather than authoritarian but in practice, despite partial worker ownership, the organisational structure reflects a typical bureaucratic arrangement which limits participation. Nonetheless interviews showed that ATS managers are of the firm belief that participation holds great potential for enhancing productivity and is immediately relevant for meeting the needs of a diversified workforce. While this implies a recognition of the impact that motivated employees can have on productivity, the lack of an apparent existence of overwhelming levels of these two variables suggest that there is cause for concern.

Union activity in the workplace

ATS is a highly unionised workplace. Of the 460 employees, over 400 are union members, or about 90 percent of the workforce. Union membership is not mandatory and while it is theoretically possible for employees to join other unions, the Federated

Airline Staff Association (FASA) is the only union operating here. Although 100 percent of employees are from non-English speaking backgrounds, English is the official workplace medium. Ten percent of the total workforce are female and approximately 40 percent are between the age of 20 and 29 years.

All occupational groupings have union members in their ranks. Traffic and Cargo Services has 200 employees which accounts for 43 percent of the total ATS workforce. This is followed by Catering Services with 160 workers or 35 percent, Technical Services has 80 employees or 17 percent and Administration and Finance has the remaining twenty accounting for four percent of total employees. A notable feature is the small number of female employees resulting from the predominance of a traditional male work domain. Union officials pointed out that while they saw no gender discrimination practised here, the nature of the jobs and the hours of work do not attract many female applicants.

In terms of the impact of union members on their work, both union officials and management interviewees suggested that the Traffic and Cargo Services displayed tendencies of 'empire-building' and 'personalising issues'. Upon closer scrutiny, it was discovered that these tensions were the result of a power struggle within the organisation. The 1994 union elections resulted in the defeat of the FASA president who is located in Traffic and Cargo Services. Subsequent instances of uncooperativeness in that section were seen as 'pay-back' for the loss of face experienced in this defeat. While it has not been openly stated, one can also sense undercurrents of broader community attitudes of inter-ethnic suspicion between Fijians and Indians. Although FASA recognises that ethnicity is a fact of life on the shopfloor,

they are also aware of the damage it can cause. FASA claims that it is one of the main reasons for encouraging new employees to join the union, as they are keen to avoid potential discriminatory practices that typically arise in multi-ethnic work settings in Fiji.

There are no full-time union officials in the workplace. The 14 union officials comprising thirteen elected and one coopted member are all full-time employees who undertake union duties in addition to their own work. While union work is voluntary, union activities on the job site are usually endorsed by management through the provision of office space and an official release to perform union duties during working hours when the need arises. Apart from the allocation of overtime (which is controlled by the departments) the following tasks listed in the union questionnaire have been identified by FASA as reflective also of the kinds of responsibilities that may be undertaken by a union representative.

- Handle communications between union office and members
- Recruit members
- Handle queries about award conditions
- Handle individual grievances
- Handle equal employment opportunity issues
- Monitor and deal with OHS issues
- Handle sexual/racial harassment complaints
- Negotiate wage rises
- Negotiate about physical working conditions
- Negotiate about work practices
- Negotiate other employment conditions
- Negotiate workplace/enterprise agreement
- Participate on formal consultative committees
- Prepare newsletters/reports for members at this workplace (Union Delegate Questionnaire, ATS survey, Fiji).

In terms of training for these issues, the President of FASA pointed out that while he received OHS training through the Fiji National Training Council, knowledge and skills in all other areas were largely acquired through precedence and 'hands-on' experience in

industrial relations. The nature of the tasks of union representatives however, indicate that a high level of communication skills is required for union duties. Although many of these officials take comfort in the belief that they may have, as one put it, a 'natural flair for public speaking and organising', there seems to be little appreciation of the benefit of systematic training. Given the specialised nature of some areas that the representatives are required to cover, this lack of training may be expected to lead to inefficiencies affecting both union organisation and workplace relations. An example of this that was cited related to the handling of a sexual and racial harassment complaint. Because of the cultural sensitivities surrounding gender and ethnicity, the particular case mentioned was a subject of extreme emotional and psychological trauma to those directly involved due to the lack of specialised counselling and support services required in case handling.

Union-management relations at ATS are described as satisfactory by both sides. Committees in the workplace have joint representation between management and the union, and meet on a regular basis. In most cases important union issues requiring management direction and support are referred to the Personnel Manager who is also Chairman of ATSET and a board member. Departmental heads are important referral points for union delegates in the workplace in negotiating issues pertaining to staffing levels, physical working conditions, OHS, introducing new technology, and changes to work practices. Any proposed wage increase is negotiated with the Personnel Manager, while both the latter and departmental heads are directly involved in dismissals and disciplinary action. Issues pertaining to redundancy are provided for in the existing log of claims between FASA and ATS. The essence of this consultative process is that while union officials play a fairly restricted role in the final outcome the degree of

access that they have to key managers and supervisors at different stages of the decision making process suggests the basis of a stakeholding network with potential to direct productivity levels even further. Existing practices would require increased professionalism in adapting union activities to the particularities of employee behaviour in a context of dualism.

In terms of workplace agreements, FASA and ATS have an agreement certified under legislation. Acceptance of this agreement was negotiated between the union and management in consultation with the fourteen union officials in the workplace. This was seen as a sufficiently representative process and as such was not subjected to any further voting endorsement. The agreement covers employment contracts, pay rates, work hours, performance appraisal, penalty rates, discipline and dismissals, retrenchments or redeployments, training, leave arrangements, consultation mechanisms, OHS and work practices. At the time of this study it was claimed by FASA that salaries and penalty rates had not increased in the previous twelve months, because of senior management's resistance. Even this, however, did not disrupt the harmonious relationship which was seen by both union and management as central to the history of trouble-free industrial relations.

The President of FASA indicated that while there is an immediate need for the company and employees to re-focus on future directions in order to meet competition from Air Pacific, the union anticipates a degree of improvement in workplace productivity from organisational changes that are in place. Increased computerisation in office technology and the Customer Smiles Programme, (the latter, a quality emphasis driven by customer needs and expectations) is expected to redefine the work culture and practices in the

workplace. The process involves empowering the workers to view himself or herself as a key component in the mainstream of a customer-process relationship. The President of FASA saw this as potentially positive for employee participation and motivation.

Of equal significance in this issue is the widespread involvement of employees, union officials and management in the different levels of consultation that occur in the workplace. The Joint Operations Committee, which consists of management and union officials, has all the trimmings of participatory decision making, which might be seen as a step to achieving desired levels of productivity. In practice however the results seem disappointing. The union president reckons that a lack of substantial support from union members and colleagues and the inaccessibility of some managers have influenced the efficiency of the consultative mechanisms. On the other hand, managers have felt that ensuring employee interest through union representation on strategic committees has often become cumbersome and time-consuming (Fijians, males, 40-49 years, managers, ATS). The result is that far from increasing productivity, attempts at consultation are actually seen as reducing efficiency.

While these formal levels of worker participation have laid the basis for a level of harmony between the union and management at the workplace, both groups are currently questioning the processes. Both share, however, an underlying commitment to developing strategies that could provide a basis for transposing these important interactive processes into a more committed work culture and could ultimately deliver a higher quality of service by employees. The extent of that motivation will now be examined.

Employees in the workplace

Of the 460 employees a sample of between five and ten percent of the workforce was anticipated to provide a sufficient basis for generalisation. While the variables of ethnicity and gender were considered in determining the sample, particular attention was paid to ensuring that all occupational groupings were represented. In terms of the motivational aspects of this study it provides a basis for insights into the way stakeholders in the workplace interact in ways which influence employee motivation. A systematic random sample drawn from the ATS master staff listing resulted in the occupational breakdown of the sample as reflected in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Occupational grouping of respondents at ATS

Occupational grouping of employee sample at ATS	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of ATS sample
Managers and administrators	6	14
Professionals	3	7
Para-professionals	3	7
Tradespersons and apprentices	10	23
Clerks	11	26
Salespersons and personal service workers	n.a	n.a.
Plant and machine operators & drivers	6	14
Labourers and related workers	4	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

The sample indicates that approximately nine percent of all possible respondents in the workplace returned a completed questionnaire. The not applicable (n.a.) symbol given to the job category in Table 6.3 indicates that this work group is not entirely absent in this workplace. Instead, the group of traffic agents that appeared in this sample have a curious blend in their job descriptions that incorporate clerical and personal service-type functions. A closer examination of the tasks involved suggests a stronger leaning

towards information processing, which has resulted in the decision to place them in the group labelled 'clerks'.

In addition to acquiring information on employee characteristics, the survey is also an attitudinal instrument which measures worker attitudes and perceptions on various aspects of the workplace which relate to provisions on the job, degree of change in the workplace, consultative processes, union activity, employee satisfaction, employee influence on the job, employee contentment with various aspects of management and organisation and the degree of importance attached to employee motives to work. An examination of the socio-economic status of respondents provides insights into the social background of the individuals which may impact upon employee behaviour.

A Personal characteristics and socio-economic status of ATS respondents

This section of the employee survey was directed at gaining insights into the level of HRD of employees which is likely to be reflected in employee perceptions towards motivation and commitment to work. The variables examined include age, ethnicity, gender, level of education, language used, marital status and household composition, health condition and caring, years at work and income level.

1 Age

The choice to move away from an individual listing of the ages of these respondents was based on the fact that since this was a small sample, the wide range of ages between 20 and 60 years illustrated fairly low frequencies. This being the case it was felt that in order to highlight the particular features of the age variable an aggregated form would be more useful. Table 6.4 show age categories of employees

Table 6.4 Age categories of respondents at ATS

Age category	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of ATS sample
20-29 years old	13	30
30-39	9	21
40-49	13	30
50 and over	8	19

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Of the 43 respondents, 51 percent were between the ages of 20 and 39 years while 49 percent were aged 40 years and over. While the age range in this workplace is reflective of a young workforce, the implications of inexperience associated with the initial years of a formal work life are balanced by the equally high number of workers in the older age category of 40 years and over, suggesting high staff retention.

2 Ethnicity

The sensitivities surrounding the ethnic issue have shaped perceptions and stereotypes of the main ethnic groups in Fiji and are strongly represented in most analysis of issues pertaining to the Fijian situation. Its relevance in this survey was aimed at seeing the extent to which notions of ethnic representativeness are reflected in the workplace. In terms of motivation it was geared towards the extent to which stereotypes might be reflected in employee attitudes to work. Table 6.5 presents the ethnic composition.

Table 6.5 Ethnic composition of respondents at ATS

Ethnic group	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of ATS sample
Fijians	23	53
Indians	12	28
Others	8	19

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Although this sample reflects greater ethnic Fijian numbers, the actual workforce composition in ATS consists of 46 percent Fijians, 46 percent Indians, 6 percent Others and 2 percent Rotumans. In the Fijian context, 'Others' include mostly those of mixed ancestry who are not included under any specified ethnic grouping. The inability to obtain greater Indian respondents emerged after a large number of 'no responses' were received from part of the initial earmarked sample. These were later discovered to be in the Traffic and Cargo Services Section. The previously mentioned difficulties in that section probably account for this relatively low rate of return. The notion of maintaining racial parity in the workplace is one of many policies of affirmative action which in Fiji are commonly referred to as 'positive discrimination'. Such employment practices apply in most organisations in the Fiji public sector, and at ATS, are endorsed by the Board and top management.

Discussions with senior personnel point to a view that in a strategic industry such as aviation, a policy of ethnic balance was necessary to avoid the risk of economic blackmail (Indian and Fijian, 40-49 years, males, managers, ATS). While such concerns reflect deeply rooted stereotypes underlying inter-ethnic tensions between Fijians and Indians in the society at large, they tend to be couched in fairly indirect terms and often invisible to the 'outsider'. Further discussions with ethnic Fijian respondents revealed that the initial obligation to do the job is influenced by a common bond based on an understanding that in protecting the 'Fijian' interest in the workplace in terms of ethnic Fijian employee numbers and ethnic Fijians in management positions, the "rewards of work come from looking after your own kind" (Fijians, males, 30-39 years, professionals and tradespersons, ATS).

While this implies that amongst ethnic Fijian respondents the notion of placing group interests before self reflects wider values of indigenous communal life, it also suggests the significance of non-monetary rewards like prestige, recognition and group acceptance as equally important in the fulfillment of needs. Indian respondents on the other hand perceive a fairly distinct individualised advantage of being an employee at ATS, and while they are mindful of “maintaining an 'Indian' interest in the workplace” (Indian, male, 30-39 years, clerk, ATS), the latter is directed towards promoting individual gains ahead of the broader group interest.

Although these responses are partially shaped by stereotypical attitudes in the wider society, at a mundane level there is mutual inter-ethnic respect and tolerance in this workplace. References to the volatile ethnic situation during the coups of 1987 and in the immediate aftermath (Indians, males, 30-39 years, tradespersons, ATS), infer an inherent fear that not even the workplace is immune to the threat of ethnic violence; a situation that is rooted in the divisive policy of ethnic segregation which in turn has perpetuated a relationship based on suspicion and distrust between the two major races in the wider society.

3 Gender

As an important determinant of social relationships in the community, the identification of gender composition in the workplace was necessary for determining the extent of gender bias. Table 6.6 presents the gender composition of respondents.

Table 6.6 Gender breakdown of respondents at ATS

Gender	Number of respondents in each gender	Percentage of ATS sample
Males	34	79
Females	9	21

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

The 79 percent of respondents who are males reflects the gender imbalance in the ATS workplace. Management interviewees suggested that the nature of the jobs, the work hours and the physical effort and stress associated with ground handling often create a situation of disadvantage for women especially in the less skilled work classifications (Fijians, males, 40-49 years, managers, ATS). So rather than being able to progress into the better paid but physically arduous cargo handling they were restricted to menial catering jobs and routine office work. Some female respondents did not regard this as having any great significance for their job and were quite content with the status quo (Fijian and Indian, females, 30-39 years, clerks, ATS). In short, gender relations in this workplace reflect wider social distinctions that characterise the division of labour in Fiji, in which men perform key integral functions and women undertake supportive peripheral roles.

4 Level of education

While this question was necessary for showing the influence of literacy on employee behaviour it was also related to the extent to which cultural influences further shaped employee perception and interaction. Respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education reached and these data are presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Education level of respondents at ATS

Highest level of education achieved	Number of respondents in each level	Percentage of ATS sample
Primary school	1	2
Secondary school	20	47
Vocational and/or apprenticeships	18	42
Tertiary or equivalence	4	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Table 6.7 illustrates that 42 of the 43 respondents have received education beyond primary school level which in terms of national averages makes this a reasonably well educated group of workers. The large numbers of respondents who have had vocational training and/or apprenticeships reflect the skilled requirements of ground handling operations. Apart from the positions that require specialised training, the equally large number of 47 percent who have achieved Year 12 leaving certificates or its equivalence at secondary level reflects the minimum entry requirement for most of the other jobs here.

The emphasis on high standards of quality control in service delivery within the aviation industry has meant that ATS must ensure that it has the technology and performance levels to meet this demand. To this end, the training component in the workplace incorporates an integrative work programme in all facets of ground-handling functions, while on-the-job training by supervisors is an on-going prerequisite. Specialised short courses in aircraft maintenance, offered by international carriers overseas, provide additional training opportunities to maintenance staff, while the company's commitment to ATS's future is seen in the continued support of its own apprenticeship schemes (ATS Annual Report, 1994).

5 Language

Ascertaining the degree and frequency of use of the English language is important especially when the official medium is English. In terms of motivation the relevance of language assumes significance in a work context of non native English speaking employees who are also participants of a culture of silence. While the implications for misinterpretation and misunderstanding accruing from limited proficiency in the English language is not remarkable the inadequacies of effective communication is linked to commitment levels and productivity. All 43 respondents used their mother tongue at home, but also often used English. In the workplace however, while English is the official medium, only 74 percent admit to using it and the remaining 26 percent use English in conjunction with a vernacular language at work. Fijian and Hindi are the two main vernacular languages in Fiji and while this study shows these languages being used at work, the incidence of dual language speakers is a common feature of Fijian workplaces.

6 Marital status and household composition

The purpose of combining marital status and household composition was to find out the social habits of a home environment which impact on behaviour in the workplace. In this study ninety-one percent of the 43 respondents are married and nine percent are single. Respondents were given a list of kinship classificatory terms such as 'spouse', 'mother', 'father' and so on and were asked to indicate all who were resident members of an employee's household. Table 6.8 provides insights into living arrangements.

Table 6.8 Living arrangements of respondents at ATS

Options in living arrangements	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of ATS sample
Option 1 Those who live with their spouse and children only	15	35
Option 2 Those who live with their spouse and children and other relatives	18	42
Option 3 Those who live with either the spouse or the children	6	14
Option 4 Those who live with their parents or other established living arrangements	4	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

While 35 percent of respondents live with only their spouse and children, it is interesting that a further 18 percent have other relatives living with them. The last category refers to respondents with single status who in this case either live at home with their parents or (if they come from outside of the Nadi-Lautoka area for work) are most likely to board with relatives or flat out with friends.

Despite the high incidence of extended living arrangements the average size of these households is 3.6. The extended household composition was a common feature among ethnic Fijian respondents only. So while this family network is a typical feature in Fijian villages, its existence in the urban setting indicates that most ethnic Fijian workers continue to retain family ties with their wider kinship groups. In terms of dependent children, 19 percent of the forty-three respondents have no dependent children residing with them and the remaining 81 percent had a total of eighty-three children. The average number of dependent children per household in this sample was 1.9 and while this implies smaller families and the beginnings of newly formed family structures among

younger couples, it also reflects common norms that guide the family institution in the wider community.

While Fijian respondents saw the setting up of a new home as an extension of the larger kinship networks to which they attach significance in terms of future sources of resources and support, Indian respondents saw the individualised family units comprising their spouse and children as a separation from such highly dependent networks of control and influence, involving a measure of independence that they held in high regard. Employee preferences in social habits of living arrangements show that behaviour in the workplace reflecting clear distinctions of group oriented behaviour and more individualised inclinations are also important influences underlying motives for action.

7 Health condition and caring functions

This question was relevant for finding out the extent to which cultural notions of health influenced employee work habits. 86 percent of respondents said they had not suffered from any illnesses that was likely to last for more than six months. Although this may seem like a healthy workforce it does not reveal the different perceptual frameworks associated with (for example) indigenous notions of 'health' and western interpretations of the same. Interestingly the issue of stress was continuously brought up by both male and female ethnic Fijian respondents in discussions. Any suggestion that this may have an impact on their levels of efficiency on the job was immediately rebuffed with remarks to the effect that "stress was only a state of mind" (Fijian, male, 30-39years, Para-professional, ATS), and while its symptoms were recognised most interviewees

suggested that "it was all in the head" (Fijians, males and females, 20-39 years, tradespersons and clerks, ATS).

The stigma of mental and nervous disorder that is often associated with stress and the loss of face accruing from being looked upon as a weakling and a liability, means that open admission of any long term suffering is rarely heard, or is downplayed if this affliction becomes public knowledge. It also reflects wider notions of public-private distinctions within indigenous society, where the public display of emotional and psychological disorder still remains a private matter that is often masked by a culture of silence. Responses from both management and union officials on this issue indicate that stress is taken for granted as a 'normal' aspect of work life. While this employee sample has indicated low levels of stress and stress-related injury on the job, it has significant implications for motivation in the Fijian context. Its clear implication is that cultural differences in concepts like 'health' and 'stress' need to be addressed by using interactive processes that recognise socially instituted norms of 'silence and face-saving' strategies of (in this case) ethnic Fijian behaviour, if moves directed at enhancing worker capacity are to be achieved.

The issue of family care is closely associated with the issue of health. Of the 43 respondents who were asked whether they had any sick family members who required caring, 79 percent responded in the negative while 21 percent admitted to having this responsibility. Although this may imply healthy households and no significant disruptions to work attendance due to family care, this response requires caution, because (like the notion of health), sensitivity surrounding 'the family' subjects the interviewer to respondent bias.

8 Years at work

The relevance of this question was to find the impact of work experience on individual attitudes towards commitment in the workplace. The extremely low frequencies over a wide range of years worked at this workplace meant that an individualised listing of each time frame was unnecessary, hence the formation of four yearly categories.

Table 6.9 Years of work among respondents at ATS

Number of years worked at this workplace	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of ATS sample
1-5 years	14	32
6-10	12	28
11-20	5	12
21-30	11	26
31-40	1	2

Note: All percentages are approximations sample scaled to the nearest whole number

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

The striking feature of this breakdown is that 40 percent have worked here for more than ten years. Most respondents who have worked here for more than fifteen years would have worked under Qantas. In their responses to questions of ATS management and work practices, implicit comparisons might therefore be expected.

The high retention rate of this workplace may be attributed to a number of factors. The first is that the ATS salaries and wages structure is relatively good in comparison to other organisations in the public sector. A second factor relates to the guaranteed employee interest in the company through partial ownership. This has resulted in a subtle clannish approach to recruitment and selection, especially for positions that require low level skills. The vested interests of employees in the company combines with traditions of family based loyalty to produce a 'father-to-son' tradition often displayed in hiring. This guarantees the protection of the family's interest through

employee shareholding over time. It also indicates a potential utility of cultural attitudes for employee motivation by drawing the workplace into clan structures.

9 Gross weekly income

As was seen in Chapter 2, a link between income and employee performance is generally acknowledged in the literature. Table 6.10 show gross weekly earnings at ATS.

Table 6.10 Categories of gross weekly income among respondents at ATS

Gross weekly income (Fijian dollars)	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of ATS sample
Less than FJ\$100	n.a.	n.a.
100-299	20	47
300-499	13	30
500-699	n.a.	n.a.
700-899	1	2
900-1099	2	5
1100 and over	4	9
Not stated	3	7

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Forty-seven percent of respondents received between one hundred and three hundred dollars in gross weekly income while a further 30 percent received between 300 and 500 dollars for the same period. Although 7 percent chose not to disclose this information, the remaining sixteen percent indicated that they received between seven hundred dollars and over eleven hundred dollars a week. The levels of gross weekly income reflect the high salaries and wages structure enjoyed in the whole organisation and while this is a product of the collective bargaining mechanism exercised in the workplace, it is reflective of the overall high wages in the Fiji economy. Chandra’s study of manufacturing in Fiji placed the average annual wage in national terms at US\$3,253

(Chandra, 1996b:59). The implication for motivation arises in situations where high income is not reflected in an equally high level of productivity, and when it does occur as is the case in Fiji it raises questions on the relativity of money as the primary incentive or motivator to work.

While employees here express satisfaction with income earned, this level of contentment does not necessarily translate into higher levels of productivity. The words of a senior employee summed up a basic management concern which is widely recognised in Fiji workplaces but for which strategy for enhancing workplace performance has been developed.

Do I like this job? Sure I do. Do I like my pay? But of course who doesn't. Can I honestly tell you that workers here are putting in an honest day's work for the pay they get? Well yes and no. Yes because we all believe that we do and no because there's some real seagulls here. They just clock in, kill time and clock out. But in order to turn this around, well I think we need management by leadership. You know the younger and more educated employees expect value for money and if they see that their bosses are not setting the pace in developing a kind of work ethic that give you a sense of pride in working here then all that good pay comes to nothing (Fijian, male, 50-59 years, tradesperson, ATS).

Having looked at the personal characteristics and the socio-economic status of these employees the second part of this survey examines their responses to questions on various aspects of organisation and management in this workplace. It is here that insights into employees' perceptions may lead to a better understanding of attitudes to work and the motives that determine behaviour in the workplace.

B Attitudes and perceptions of ATS respondents

Having looked at the personal and socio-economic statuses of employees, this second part of the survey examines employee responses to aspects of work. These include an

overview of work, provisions on the job, options for time off, changes at work, consultative processes, job satisfaction, job contentment and motives to work.

1 Employee overview of work at ATS

This section of the survey aimed to obtain an overall view of employee attitudes to work in general, and provisions on the job. Although the questions in this section were directed at existing aspects of work, the nature of oscillating responses between the ideal and the actual situation is to be expected of an industrialising workforce in situations of changing economic growth. Where such responses have occurred, an explanation of these tendencies is provided where necessary.

General attitudes to work covered employees' perceptions of hours of work and benefits. In terms of work hours, the respondents had no choice, as ATS is bound by the legal requirement of thirty-seven hours per week. Overtime, however, seems to be a regular feature in this workplace and is unremarkable given the nature of the organisation's operations in the aviation industry. While 35 percent of respondents stated that they did not work overtime, 65 percent said that they work between one to four hours a week overtime. In general 79 percent of all respondents expressed satisfaction with their current hours of work while 21 percent expressed a preference for change. With regards to work benefits, all were aware of their entitlement to paid holidays and sick leave.

2 Employee response to provisions on the job

The relevance of this question was in seeing how job provisions are linked to the fulfilment of individual needs. The provisions have been grouped into three categories labelled A, B and C under common thematic aspects of work. A covers provisions of

different work arrangements, B looks at provisions of specific training and C address provisions of specific benefits on the job. Respondents were asked to indicate 'yes', 'no', 'don't know', or 'irrelevant' to each of these aspects. Table 6.11 show employee response to provisions on the job.

Table 6.11 Employee response to provisions on the job at ATS

Provisions on the job	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Irrelevant %	Not stated %
A Different work arrangements					
Fixed contract	9	91	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Permanent part-time work	28	45	4	19	4
Chance to work from home some-times	7	75	4	12	2
B Specific training					
OHS training	49	40	n.a.	2	9
Job training	65	30	n.a.	2	2
Training to read and write in English	4	56	n.a.	26	14
C Specific benefits					
Maternity or paternity leave	87	4	n.a.	7	2
Childcare provisions	n.a.	88	n.a.	12	n.a.
Use of work telephone for family reasons	72	21	n.a.	7	n.a.
Pay rise due to age, years of service over last 12 months	75	18	n.a.	n.a.	7
Bonus and incentives that are linked to performance	79	12	9	n.a.	n.a.

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

The responses of employees in Table 6.11 to the provisions listed above, illustrate two significant features. The first is that those provisions which have a largely positive

response reflect actual practices in the workplace. The second is that those provisions with a largely negative response are not yet in place but have the potential to be incorporated as options for the future. The high levels of endorsement of existing provisions such as parenting leave, access to a work telephone for family reasons, pay rises and performance-related bonuses and incentives indicate aspects of the basic package of employee benefits that reflect implicit support for the current arrangements, with no apparent desire for any change. It is also notable that these areas of high endorsement are those which have either explicit or implicit relation to employee's roles in non-work activities.

Where training is concerned, it is interesting that while approximately two-thirds of respondents had taken part in job training, almost one-third had not. On the other hand it is most likely that the responses shown for OHS training would be closely related to high risk work, with such training being a basic requirement of certain ATS job categories. The provision for training to read and write in English has in many ways attracted a strongly negative and defensive response as seen in Table 6.11. This was negative in the sense that it is seen as "a waste of time and unnecessary" (Indian, male, 20-29 years, clerk, ATS) and defensive because the idea creates feelings of insecurity and low self-esteem among second-language speakers.

The high negative responses to the possibility of provisions like fixed contracts (91 percent); permanent part-time work (44 percent), partly or wholly funded childcare by the employer (88 percent), and the chance to work from home sometimes (74 percent) reveal a high level of support for existing provisions and anxiety about possible changes to them. Respondents who were positive about the provision of permanent part-time

work (28 percent) and the occasional chance to work from home (7 percent) indicate an interest in an area which may have significant implications for developing strategies of greater worker commitment here.

3 Employee response to options for time off

The issue of options for time off work was considered particularly relevant for this study because it involved cultural attitudes that have a direct bearing on the level of employee commitment to meeting work as against personal and social needs. As such the two areas that were examined focused on caring for a sick family member and the fulfillment of social or customary obligations. Respondents indicated the employment provisions they had used in these regards from the following options:

- 1 Use my own paid sick leave
- 2 Use paid holiday leave
- 3 Take time off and make it up later
- 4 Go on leave without pay
- 5 I couldn't take time off and make it up later
- 6 Other (explain) (ATS Employee Survey, Fiji)

With regard to the question on caring employees were asked to indicate options that they would use in meeting this function and the number of times they had used these options over the last twelve months. Initial analysis of these responses resulted in the formation of the following options in Table 6.12. where responses were grouped into three options which focus on the use of sick leave (Option 1), paid leave (Option 2) and ad hoc arrangements (Option 3).

Table 6.12 Options for time off for caring and frequency of actual use in last 12 months among ATS respondents

Options for time off for caring for a sick family member	Number of respondents under each option	Percentage of ATS sample	Number of times actually used over last 12 months
Option 1 Those who would only use sick leave.	12	28	72 times
Option 2 Those who would only use use paid leave	22	52	44 times
Option 3 Those who would use ad hoc arrangements	9	20	7 times

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

In terms of caring for a sick family member, 28 percent of the sample stated that they would primarily use sick leave. Fifty-two percent indicated that they would not use sick leave but instead would use paid leave alongside varying degrees of the other provisions. The remaining 20 percent preferred to make ad hoc arrangements within their work unit such as making time up later and/or swapping shifts. When asked how often these options were utilised in the last twelve months, the responses have shown an opposite trend with sick leave being used in seventy-two instances in the past year, and paid leave forty-four times. The remaining nine respondents used the third option on seven occasions over the past twelve months.

The discrepancy between stated attitude and actual practice indicates varying degrees of interpretation of work norms, and may be related to the character of a multicultural workplace. So provisions which are in formal terms viewed as additional benefits of work that are intended to sustain the physical well-being of its employees, may be realigned by the workers themselves around the fulfillment of their personal needs. So while sick leave entitlements are provided by the employer for the direct benefit of the

employee, this study has shown employees using sick leave entitlements to care for a sick family member. The same can also be said of paid leave. Despite its intention of providing paid leisure breaks in the work schedule of employees, its choice by employees to care for the sick, indicates the existence of employee behaviour in which informal needs are worked into the formal arrangements of work systems.

With regards to options for time off in fulfilling social or customary obligations, Table 6.13 illustrates employees attitudes. While similar situations may be expected in any workplace, a particular edge is added to them here where cultural norms make care for family members mandatory and the extended definition of “family” adds a quantitative variable to the qualitative difference in approach.

Table 6.13 Options for time off to fulfill social or customary obligations among ATS respondents

Options for time off for social or customary obligations	Number of respondents under each option	Percentage of ATS sample
Option 1		
Those who would only use paid holiday leave	14	32
Option 2		
Those who would not include sick leave in their choice of provisions for time off	16	37
Option 3		
Those who would use all forms of leave provisions	2	5
Option 4		
Those who would only use take time off and make it up later and/or swap shifts	11	26

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Thirty-two percent of respondents indicated that they would use only paid holiday leave for social or customary obligations, while 37 percent would use all possible forms of leave provisions (excluding sick leave) for this purpose. Among the remaining

respondents a small group of five percent indicated that they would use all possible provisions while 26 percent would only resort to taking time off and making it up later and/or swapping shifts.

These findings highlight several significant issues. The first is that employees use leave entitlements for meeting needs which are not directly linked to the workplace. It also illustrates that provisions aimed at contributing towards the health of employees are used to fulfill family and other customary obligations. While this may well contribute to individuals' 'social health', it is clearly outside the formal intention of the leave provisions. This has a number of implications. Although the frequency of actual use of these options for caring functions in the last twelve months was minimal, the fact that these provisions were perceived by employees to be available for purposes other than what they were formally intended for, suggests that workers' social needs have a broad impact on workplace behaviour. The fact that all respondents irrespective of ethnicity and gender take time off to fulfill social and customary obligations illustrates a set of priorities in which work obligations clearly take second place.

4 Employee response to changes in the workplace

This question was relevant for understanding the impact of cultural attitudes on individual perception in encountering change at work. Respondents were given seven aspects of work in the questionnaire and asked to indicate whether these had increased, decreased or had not changed. Table 6.14 shows responses to workplace change.

Table 6.14 Employee response to change in aspects of work at ATS

Changes in the workplace	Gone up %	Gone down %	No change %	Don't know %	Not stated %
Decisions affecting you	37	5	42	7	9
Use of own ideas to do work	58	5	25	5	7
Chance to get more senior job here	33	5	30	25	7
Effort put into the job	89	n.a.	9	n.a.	2
Stress in the job	42	7	37	n.a.	14
Job satisfaction	66	2	23	n.a.	9
Satisfaction in balance between family life and work	33	23	37	n.a.	7

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Of all increases, effort put into the job stands out distinctly from the rest with 89 percent of respondents attesting to this. Other perceived increases relating to job satisfaction (66 percent), use of own ideas to do work (58 percent), stress in the job (42 percent), decisions affecting the individual (37 percent), with chances for promotion, and satisfaction in the balance between family life and work, each attracting thirty-three percent of total responses, indicate a number of factors with potential impacts on motivation. In general these responses suggest that employees identify closely with those aspects of work that are perceived to have a direct impact on enhancing individual needs. In terms of a decline in aspects of workplace changes the only finding of interest pertains to 23 percent of employees who indicated that their satisfaction with the balance between family life and work has decreased. While the decline in satisfaction

with this particular aspect is subject to numerous factors, it illustrates a shifting equilibrium that influences the development of greater long term commitment to work.

5 Employee response to changes in the last 12 months

This question sought employee assessment of actual change over the last twelve months. The aspects of change that respondents were asked to assess covered pay, hours of work, training, job type, work methods and the organisation of the workplace. For each of these aspects, respondents were asked to indicate whether these had increased, decreased or had not changed. Responses to change are presented in two tables. Table 6.15a illustrates employees’ assessment of change in general over the last twelve months and Table 6.15b show employees’ rating of change for particular aspects of work in the same period.

Table 6.15a Employee overview of change in last twelve months at ATS

General work aspects	Yes %	No change %	Don't know %
Type of work you do	47	44	9
How you do your job	56	35	9
Way workplace is run	54	44	2

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji

Generally speaking employee responses to change at work over the last twelve months show low levels of enthusiasm towards change. Given that these areas cover the job itself, work methods and the organisation of the workplace; all core aspects that can have an impact on employee motivation, the almost equal division of opinions between change and ‘no change’ illustrates an absence of satisfaction with change taking place. In terms of motivation this implies that if notions of change are influenced by factors

external to the workplace, then enhanced productivity that is expected to emanate from changes at work can never be the sole motivating drive for increased employee performance.

While the general response to change has been less than expected this low level of endorsement of change is also reflected in employees' response to particular aspects of work. Responses are tabulated in Table 6.15b.

Table 6.15b Employee response to changes over the last twelve months at ATS

Changes over last 12 months	Gone up %	Gone down %	No change %	Don't know %
Gross weekly pay	72	5	21	2
Hours of work per week	21	n.a.	77	2
Hours of work per day	21	n.a.	77	2
Days per week of work	14	n.a.	79	7
Amount of training received	19	14	58	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji

In terms of the changes over the previous twelve months, employees' responses reflect a distinct polarisation of opinions between perceived increases on the one hand and 'no change' on the other. The high response rates indicating no change in the hours of work per week, hours of work per day and the days per week of work are to be expected given that these are regulated by law. The lack of flexibility this implies emerged in interviews as a problem for both employees and management and while particular responses indicate some interest in other options of work hours that are not available in the existing set of work regulations, there seems to be no overwhelming desire to change.

While most employees were aware of changes affecting their work, there was less agreement on the nature of change. Of the 43 respondents only 19 agreed that there had been changes in this workplace. Further probing resulted in sixteen of the nineteen respondents providing descriptions that have been grouped under three categories. The three main changes described were the introduction of new equipment in Traffic and Cargo Services and Catering Services, increased computerisation in office management, and the renewed emphasis on productivity and quality management techniques through the Customer Smiles Programme.

In a dual economy like Fiji where the nature of an industrialising workforce reflects employee lifestyles which draw on practices of both traditional and modern value systems, this guarded and conservative response to change is to be expected. In motivational terms it means that if the internal aspects of the job are not sufficient motivators for performance then management systems need to recognise this and develop strategies that effectively harness the particular motivational strengths of its workforce.

6 Employee response to consultative processes

The forms of consultation occurring here provide significant insights into employees' perceptions of the types of interactive processes in which they are involved. Respondents were asked to indicate the consultative type(s) which informed them about changes in the workplace by choosing from the following:

- 1 Supervisors discussed changes with me
- 2 Managers at a higher level discussed changes with me
- 3 Other workers told me
- 4 The union discussed changes with me
- 5 Found out through workplace notice or newsletter
- 6 Went to meetings where changes were discussed (ATS Employee Survey, Fiji)

Responses were organised into five groups and reflect the dominant choice patterns of respondents. So for example in Group 1 all respondents in this category chose types 1 and 2 listed earlier with varying degrees of use amongst the other types offered in the list.

Table 6.16 Employee response to forms of consultation about changes in the ATS workplace

Groups of consultation types for communicating change	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of ATS sample
Group 1 Those who were consulted through types 1 and 2 and to a lesser extent others	13	30
Group 2 Those who were consulted through types 2 and 3 and to a lesser extent others	9	21
Group 3 Those who were consulted through types 3 and 4 and to a lesser extent others	6	14
Group 4 Those who were consulted through types 5 and 6	3	7
Group 5 Those who indicated that this consultation issue was inapplicable to them	12	28

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Table 6.16 shows that while 72 percent of the respondents indicated some form of consultation (Groups 1-4), 28 percent saw this attempt to determine the types of consultative processes they were involved in as inapplicable to them. While the response of those in Group 5 may imply that consultation is a non issue, it may also suggest acquiescent behaviour amongst employees, who are willing to accept any source of information and who are not prepared to differentiate the implications for individual enhancement that are associated with the different types of consultative processes.

Among the groups who indicated options in consultative types, 30 percent placed emphasis on the common forms of superior-subordinate channels of communication while a further 21 percent indicated the use of a mixture of such formal communication and informal consultation with workmates. The 14 percent of respondents in Group 3 felt that the most common consultative processes had been employee-generated either directly or through the union. The remaining 7 percent of respondents used written notices and meetings for obtaining information regarding changes. Overall the responses indicate that about half of the communication regarding change was received by formal means (as shown in types 1, 2, 5 and 6) with the other half being informal (as seen in types 3 and 4). Generally speaking, the overlapping nature of consultation processes suggest that while all six forms have been used in varying degrees, there is a reasonably high level of interaction using both formal and informal consultation.

When respondents were further asked whether they were given a fair chance to have a say about changes here, 67 percent indicated that they were given this opportunity. Of the remaining 33 percent who felt that they were denied this chance, a main reason given was that the decisions in question had been made between management and the union. While the majority felt that they did have opportunities to speak up there was also a strong feeling that managers make all the decisions with employees having no say, and in situations where managers do consult, employees felt that their opinions were rarely considered.

These employee responses on consultation illustrate that interactive processes do have an influence over employee behaviour and motivation. The degree of access and participation in these consultative networks can motivate or demotivate an individual in

a big way. If consultative processes are seen by employees as readily available to a chosen few, then withdrawal of support and commitment can be expected. It is more so in a context where the culture of silence is an important component of interactive processes and where age and gender are key determinants of social relationships.

7 Employee influence on aspects of work

This question was necessary for determining the extent to which individual perceptions of control shaped responses to notions of influence in the workplace. Five areas were provided in the questionnaire and respondents were asked to indicate the degree of influence that they felt they had. Table 6.17 shows these responses.

Table 6.17 Employee response to influence over aspects of work at ATS

Aspects of work	A lot of influence %	Some influence %	A little influence %	No influence %	Not applicable %
Type of work you do	56	23	7	7	7
How you do your work	65	18	5	5	7
When you start and finish work	35	21	14	14	16
Way work-place is run	21	35	16	12	16
Decisions which affect you at this workplace	16	38	16	21	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

A majority of these respondents believe they have varying degrees of influence in the workplace. This is partly due to the nature of partial worker-ownership and the high formal levels of employee participation flowing from this. It would seem, however, that

aspects perceived to have a more direct impact on the individual are also the ones that employees feel they have a lot of influence over. So 65 percent of the respondents claimed to have a lot of influence on how work is done and 56 percent felt they had a lot of influence on the type of work they do. In short a total of 86 percent indicated that they exert varying degrees of influence on their work, with 88 percent acknowledging that they have levels of influence on their work processes, and 70 percent stating that they were able to influence their start and finish times.

In general, the further a particular aspect of change is from the employee's immediate environment, the less influence respondents felt they had. So while 21 percent of the respondents felt they had a lot of influence on the running of this workplace, only 16 percent indicated the same level of influence on decisions which affect them. This seems to suggest that the levels of influence are closely linked to centres of control in the workplace. In situations where individual control is direct, influence levels are high and in aspects of work where there is reduced individual control, the level of employee influence gradually declines.

Areas where respondents feel they have no influence are those most removed from individual positions in the workplace. So responses indicate an absence of influence towards work hours, the organisation of the workplace and decision-making. This reflects tendencies of territorial control. It also may be seen as a logical effect of the particularities of benevolence in the Fijian context which tend to further an acceptance of leadership and authority and accentuate the gap between individual needs and organisational expectations. This dichotomy could be expected to provide positive motivational factors in terms of motivation of particular tasks, but it would be negative

in terms of cultivating a kind of workplace parochialism which would mitigate against the growth of a productivity culture.

8. Employee satisfaction with aspects of work

Given the relativity of notions like satisfaction this question sought information on individual perceptions of satisfaction at work with a particular interest on the impact that cultural influences would have in shaping individual perception. Eight work aspects were provided and respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with each. These responses are tabulated in Table 6.18.

Table 6.18 Employee satisfaction with aspects of work at ATS

Aspects of work	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know	Not relevant to me
	%	%	%	%	%
Job related training received on the job	44	21	28	7	n.a.
OHS training received at work	51	21	19	2	7
Training to read and write in English	25	5	2	5	63
Chances for senior job here	37	33	16	7	7
The way management treats workers here	62	19	14	n.a.	5
Access to phone at work for family reasons	74	5	12	2	7
Safety and comfort of work conditions	82	7	9	n.a.	2
Overall job	84	12	2	n.a.	2

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Aspects that attracted high responses reflecting satisfaction were the overall job (84 percent), the safety and comfort of work conditions (82 percent), and access to a phone at work for family reasons (74 percent). A gradual decline in satisfaction levels is revealed towards management's treatment of its workers. However this also attracted approval from 62 percent of respondents. Aspects of work that have tremendous potential for enhancing professional and personal development, like training initiatives and promotion opportunities received the lowest returns of satisfaction.

The varying levels of indifference reflected in the number of responses towards areas such as training to read and write in English (33 percent), job training (21 percent), OHS training (21 percent) and employee-management relationships (19 percent), suggests a level of disenchantment which is not apparent in earlier responses. This gap between real and apparent attitudes reflects employee behaviour that is derived from a culture of silence which features prominently in Fiji society and may be linked to its dualistic economic base. Avoidance of threatening situations through non commitment and indifference is one of many strategies that people resort to in expressing disenchantment about existing practices.

While areas of dissatisfaction are generally low here, those aspects perceived to have potential benefits to the individual's career path, are also those that attract distinct levels of dissatisfaction. These pertain to job training (28 percent), OHS training (19 percent), the chance for promotion (16 percent) and management's relationship with workers (14 percent). Respondents who claimed to have no knowledge of their levels of satisfaction are more likely to be closely aligned with respondents who expressed indifference. The option of irrelevance was included in this rating of satisfaction in an attempt to screen

out the varying categories of employee behaviour in the Fijian workplace. The significant showing of 63 percent who saw English language training as irrelevant to satisfaction in this workplace illustrates cultural differences in the interpretation of 'satisfaction'. The inherent resentment among second language speakers highlighted earlier in Table 6.11 on this very issue seems to be reflected in this same aspect of work as it relates to employee satisfaction. The implications for employee capability that low levels of proficiency in the English language might come to suggest through an explicit indication of satisfaction levels is an underlying factor in this response.

In terms of motivation the link between high levels of employee satisfaction and increased performance, touted as the ideal in achieving greater employee productivity, is often difficult to effect in practice because of the influence of external factors that are beyond organisational control. Given the particularities of the Fijian context, the notion faces further challenges because the motives that drive individual behaviour and satisfaction are influenced by group norms which contradict the work norms of rational economic behaviour in a system of economic production which is increasingly directed towards market-oriented structures.

9 Employee contentment at work

This question looked at levels of employee contentment at three levels in the workplace. They were aspects of the job, the role of unions in the workplace, and general areas of organisation and management. All respondents were provided with a list of statements under these three common themes and were asked to indicate their level of contentment. The findings are addressed separately in Tables 6.19a, 6.19b and 6.19c. Responses of employee contentment with aspects of the job are presented in Table 6.19a.

Table 6.19a Employee contentment with aspects of the job at ATS

Aspects of the job	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
I get fairly paid for the job I do	86	2	7	5
I do lots of different tasks in my job	88	5	2	5
I feel insecure about my future here	21	21	49	9
My job is very stressful	44	21	23	12
This is a good place to work	79	19	2	n.a.
I often think about leaving the job	5	11	79	5
I put a lot of effort into my job	93	2	n.a.	5

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Table 6.19a shows that aspects of the job with high levels of endorsement in the various categories pertain to individual effort (93 percent), doing different tasks on the job (88 percent), being fairly paid (86 percent) and the attractiveness of this workplace for purposes of work (79 percent). Respondents indicated a level of indifference relating to feelings of insecurity (21 percent), job-related stress (21 percent), the 'goodness' of this workplace (19 percent) and thoughts about leaving the job (11 percent). In terms of pronounced disagreement, 79 percent indicated that notions of leaving are not entertained. Overall this indicates very high levels of contentment.

The second area of contentment related to union activities in the workplace and provided a cross assessment of union roles from an employee standpoint. In terms of the study this is important because it might show the degree of compatibility between the two stakeholders that control activities on the shopfloor. Table 6.19b shows the findings that reflect employee contentment with unions.

Table 6.19b **Employee contentment with union activities at ATS**

Union roles in the workplace	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
Union here does a good job in improving members' pay and conditions	81	12	2	5
Union takes notice of members' problems and complaints	81	7	5	7
Union gives members a say in how the union operates	72	7	16	5
Unions do a good job representing members when dealing with management	79	19	2	n.a.
Management and unions do their best to get on with one another	72	14	7	7
Overall, I am satisfied with the service union provides to members	77	16	2	5
If I were totally free to choose, I would rather be in a union than not in one	79	7	7	7
If you want to get on at this workplace, it isn't a good idea to be in a union	12	16	70	2

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Responses indicate high levels of endorsement for the role of unions in the workplace. An initial glance at the findings indicate that on a general level, over 70 percent of all respondents in all categories agree with the statements on union activity here. Although there is no significant showing of disagreement in the different categories, the total responses of those who claim indifference and who 'don't know', indicate the presence of underlying tensions in union-member relationships which needs to be addressed by stakeholders. Although 79 percent agreed with the statement advocating union membership, the total response of 21 percent who indicated indifference, disagreement or lack of knowledge indicates specific concerns surrounding actual efficiency levels of the union here. Closely linked to this is the notion of favouritism and/or victimisation

that the statement on advancement implied. On this note, while 12 percent of the respondents agreed with the idea that the chances of enhancement were much higher through non union involvement, 16 percent responded indifferently and 70 percent disagreed that being a union member compromised chances of advancement on the job.

The implications for motivation suggest that while employees can identify sources of influence at work, the affiliation that employees have with the union illustrates that this relationship is seen as an extension of their own areas of influence which may be utilised in light of their own individual limitations. So while contentment with union activities reflects strong interdependent networks, the negative impact of this patronage on motivation is that it becomes a front for covering inefficiencies in worker performance.

The third level of contentment related to general aspects of management and organisation. Table 6.19c show responses on this issue.

Table 6.19c Employee contentment with aspects of management and organisation at ATS

Aspects of management and organisation	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %
Management does its best to get on with employees	70	16	14
Management can be trusted to tell things the way they are	44	28	28

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

These findings attempt to provide employees' level of contentment with general aspects of organisation and management in the workplace. In terms of management's commitment to enhancing employee-management relationships, 70 percent of

respondents agreed that this was being done, 16 percent claimed indifference, and 14 percent disagreed. With regard to trusting management's assessment of workplace situations, 44 percent of respondents agreed that this was justified, 28 percent indicated indifference and 28 percent disagreed.

Generally speaking, levels of employee contentment in this workplace are reasonably high and this is reflected in attitudes to the job itself, the union and management. In view of the nature of employee involvement through partial ownership, the responses to aspects of contentment are not wholly remarkable. Likewise the high levels of contentment with union activities in the workplace illustrates employee support for the power base which they recognise as their source of strength in the organisation and their partial ownership of it.

10. Employee motives to work

This question was necessary for gaining insights into needs priority as they relate to the motives to work at ATS. Respondents were given a list of needs and asked to indicate the degree of importance that this need had as a motivating factor to work. Table 6.20 presents responses to motives.

Table 6.20 Employee response on motives to work at ATS

Motives to work	Extremely important %	Important %	Not important %	Extremely unimportant %	Not relevant to me %
1 I work because I need to support myself	33	49	2	n.a.	16
2 I work because I need to support my family	47	42	2	n.a.	9
3 I work because I need to fulfill my wider obligations	14	49	14	n.a.	23
4 I work because of family and peer pressure to be of use	7	33	25	2	33
5 I work because I like group experience	12	36	25	2	25
6 I work because I can benefit from the support of my workmates	2	23	33	5	37
7 I work because it gives me a feeling of self-worth and achievement	28	49	2	19	2
8 I work because I can contribute to organisational objectives	35	42	7	n.a.	16

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from ATS Employee Survey, Fiji.

Determining actual motives to work is never easy. Table 6.20 attempts to provide some indication of individual perceptions surrounding the need to work. While the difference between 'extremely important' and 'important' is a matter of degree, its use in this study was aimed at finding out if there was any significant difference in the way employees prioritised different needs. The findings of particular interest show that in general, these respondents are quite clear in their assessment of important needs. If one were to

combine the categories of 'extreme importance' and 'importance' in each of the levels, the fulfillment of personal needs was highly valued by 82 percent of the respondents. Eighty-nine percent indicated that work fulfills family needs, while 77 percent saw self esteem derived from work as significant, and 77 percent pointed to the importance derived from the fulfillment obtained in recognising that they have a distinct individual contribution to organisational goals.

A gradual decline in the degree of importance was associated with the need to; fulfill wider obligations (63 percent), fulfill expectations of family and friends (40 percent), further group experience (48 percent) and to derive benefits from the support of workmates (25 percent). The pursuit of individual needs and those perceived to have an immediate bearing on individual enhancement, rate importantly on the individual agenda. Other needs which have no direct significance to the individual are conversely accorded low importance in terms of work motives. Generally speaking while these responses are not remarkable of employee motives elsewhere, its significance in this study is linked to the cultural influences that shape individual perceptions. So while individual preferences may be apparent other influences on individual motives are not, resulting in gaps between assumed ideals and actual practices in the workplace.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the first of three case studies' findings showed the extent to which the culture of benevolence influenced the capacity of a management system in utilising the motivational potential of its employees. The notion of benevolence in the ATS workplace, a public company which featured joint ownership between Government and the workers, was examined through the insights of key stakeholders namely

management, unions and employees. The study found that while the practice of participatory styles have potential for greater degrees of flexibility in the workplace, centralised control is still the dominant orthodoxy in ATS. Due to the nature of partial worker ownership, it is not remarkable that activities surrounding labour-management relationships are influenced by a degree of territorial behaviour towards the protection of employee shareholding interests by employees in the workplace. The sense of complacency projected throughout discussions with these three interest groups is based on the shared assumption that the company's monopoly in the area of ground handling operations is a long term guarantee of Government support against any potential competition or threat. While this may be so, other developments amongst other key agencies in the aviation industry will have a direct bearing on ATS's ability to ward off potential and emerging competitors which in turn will impact on the kinds of productivity-enhancing strategies required in the workplace.

The relevance of these broad findings to the thesis as a whole is that they reinforce the notion that the particularities of context influence the productive capacity of organisations. Of equal significance are the strong social influences that characterise employee behaviour and motivation in a situation of rapid economic and social development. While this is to be expected in a context of economic dualism, the experiences of labour-management relationships in ATS show that while the push for increased productivity at the level of the workplace is crucial for greater economic growth, the goals cannot be achieved through a sole emphasis on rational economic managerialism. There is a strong 'human face' of economic growth reflected in employee perceptions and behaviour that the workplace will need to be fully

appreciated if motivational potential is to be effectively redirected into productivity-enhancing strategies.

Chapter 7

Case Study 2: Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji

Introduction

In examining the extent to which labour management practices address the motivational potential of employees, this second case like the first looks at how the notion of benevolence is portrayed through the perceptions of the three interest groups in the workplace. In doing so the case study has four sections. The first looks briefly at the organisational background of CAAF and describes important organisational developments that have shaped contemporary arrangements in the workplace. The second examines the role of management-labour relations from a management perspective while the third presents a collective employee position from a union standpoint. The fourth section presents the findings of a survey on employee perceptions of aspects of work and change in the workplace. Given the attitudes revealed in the data, this chapter concludes that employee potential can only be maximised if a balance is maintained between upholding a consultative framework that is transparent and accountable and a management style that is appreciative of the determinative influences of local necessities.

Organisational background

The formation of the Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji was provided for in the Civil Aviation Act of Fiji (Act No.18 of 1979). Prior to this, civil aviation functions were the responsibility of the Department of Civil Aviation with the administration of Nadi International Airport looked after by the South Pacific Air Transport Council (SPATC), of which Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and the United Kingdom were members. Initially

set up for strategic purposes during the second World War, SPATC played an important role in establishing the beginnings of a more autonomous structure that would eventually handle the future management and administration of Nadi Airport.

With Independence in 1970 came a need for Fiji to assume greater responsibility and fuller control of her own civil aviation requirements. To this end in October 1979, the Fiji Government enacted the civil aviation bill providing for the formation of CAAF as an autonomous non-profit service organisation with statutory powers. So while civil aviation functions have been directed and controlled from CAAF's current location over the last fifty years, CAAF's existence as a wholly Fijian owned statutory enterprise is soon to reach the twenty year mark. The basis of activity revolves around a functional responsibility that is directed towards the management and operations of the airport for the purpose of facilitating safe and efficient air services. Although there is a large administrative cadre in place, this workplace has an even larger group of tradesmen and professional staff.

Generally speaking, civil aviation in Fiji has utilised a high input of expatriate expertise in both managerial and technical fields. The secondment of staff from countries such as Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom in the fields of air traffic control, meteorological services and radio communications has been common. While localisation has significantly reduced expatriate officers in the workplace, CAAF has access to expatriate expertise through bilateral agreements between Fiji and Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, and through CAAF's membership of the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). While resources have been poured into the training of local personnel in the respective fields, CAAF's pool of specialist

skills has been depleted since the military coups of 1987. The small number of expatriate officers currently working in CAAF have been contracted to meet the immediate shortfall in technical expertise. Advisory services that are provided alongside these specialist skills are aimed at facilitating restructuring of civil aviation functions as the Authority adjusts its operations to meet the standards of a global aviation network.

As of January 1 1996, there were 781 employees on CAAF's payroll. Of this number, 450 were salaried 'established' staff and 331 were hourly-based 'unestablished' employees. Of this total 630 were employed in Nadi, the site of the country's only international airport and head office for CAAF. It was in this location that this case study on employee motivation was undertaken.

The nature of HRM within CAAF has been strongly influenced by developments in terms of labour-management relationships. Most of the senior employees were former civil servants who worked with the old administration and in some instances were appointed to executive positions with the responsibility of being part of the new management team at CAAF. Industrial relations played a crucial role in CAAF's formative years as active members of the Fiji Public Service Association (FPSA) negotiated terms and conditions of local staff in the transitional process that marked the changeover in organisational form (Leckie, 1997:104). Prior to CAAF's emergence in 1979, there were approximately 400 employees on secondment to civil aviation all of whom were members of the public service union. Currently CAAF is widely perceived as one of the key power bases of FPSA despite moves to set up a new union to replace FPSA's dominant position in CAAF. This is likely to continue especially given the protection FPSA is afforded by the Fiji Trades Union Act. The relevant provision in the

Act stipulates that if a currently registered union adequately represents employees, a new association will not be registered.

In line with government's policies of accelerating economic growth, strategies of public sector reform aimed at increasing efficiency and productivity levels amongst public sector agencies have placed pressures on the more commercially-oriented structures like CAAF to undertake restructuring measures. A recently completed study by Australian consultants (The Maxumise Underhill Report) has recommended "slashing the number of employees from 814 to 292" (Fiji Post, September 27, 1997). The FPSA has been one of the most ardent critics of such recommendations and has threatened to initiate industrial action if they are implemented. Senior management on the other hand was involved in consultations with the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Co-operatives and Public Enterprises prior to the report's submission to Cabinet in the latter part of 1997.

Whatever the final outcome, it is clear from the newspaper reports that this recent study has generated a great deal of fear, anxiety and uncertainty amongst CAAF employees with "a devastating effect on the workplace morale" (Fiji Post, September 27, 1997). In this context of apparent inevitable restructuring a study of factors affecting employee motivation might provide a counter balance to the policy focus on structural change by drawing attention to those organisational dynamics which have direct relevance for enhancing productivity.

Management at CAAF

The questionnaire on general management at CAAF was completed by the Principal Personnel Officer with assistance from colleagues within the Personnel section. While

the participation of the Director of Management Services under whom the function of HRM is located had been recommended by senior management, his unavailability and avoidance of scheduled interviews with the principal researcher, led to the use of middle managers in Personnel for determining a management position on HRM aspects in CAAF. Additional input from both senior and middle managers were also solicited through unstructured interviews to further qualify management's position.

Like all statutory bodies in the country, CAAF has a Board endowed with policy-making functions, whose members are appointed by the Minister responsible for the civil aviation portfolio. The Chief Executive of the Authority who is appointed by the Minister, also serves as a board member. Daily operations of the workplace are executed by a management team, while decisions pertaining to the use of any financial surplus, the endorsement of a workplace agreement, change in the number of employees and any measures to introduce a new bonus or incentive scheme for employees are made by the CAAF Board. Apart from the Board, there are four levels of executive authority that comprise middle and senior management in the Authority's organisational structure and are as follows:

- Level 1 comprises the Chief Executive,
- Level 2 comprises the Deputy Chief Executive,
- Level 3 comprise heads of divisions titled Directors, and
- Level 4 comprise heads of sections titled Chiefs.

The traditionally vertical structure of the organisation is reflected in functionally based divisions. Of the seven functional areas, three are key technical line divisions comprising; Flight Operations and Airworthiness Services, Operations and Safety Services and Technical Services. The remaining four divisions perform the supportive functions of Commercial Development, Finances, Legal Services and Management

Services. The majority of CAAF employees are located in the key line divisions and form the core of technical expertise in the organisation.

The management style within CAAF is fairly authoritarian for several reasons. The first relates to the close identity that CAAF has with central government by virtue of its statutory existence. The transfer of operations from a departmental structure to a semi-autonomous entity saw few changes in the traditional centralised nature of the organisation. The second relates to past experiences of labour-management relationship in the aviation industry and the impact this has had on contemporary attitudes of management. The past experiences of labour-management confrontation intensified by emerging differences of class and ethnic tensions have resulted in divisive confrontation among stakeholders in matters relating to employee grievances and settling disputes. This led one of the managers to describe CAAF's management style as "management by crisis and confrontation" (Indian, male, 40-49 years, manager, CAAF).

While the market for CAAF's services primarily domestic, the only real external competition that the Authority faces is in the field of air traffic control. In the rhetoric of the organisation Fiji is seen along with other members of ICAO as competing to uphold safety standards and promote accident-free travel in the respective territorial airspace that it controls. In determining the factors that are considered crucial for competitive success in the market, it was pointed out that a combination of price and the quality of the product or service were the most critical (CAAF General Management Questionnaire, Fiji).

The absence of any acknowledgement given to aspects of HRM as an important factor in determining success is particularly relevant for this study. The inconsistency in organisational rhetoric and reality is reflected in the view that while 'quality and price' are important determinants, HRM is not. One can only suggest that the lack of recognition given to HRM as a contributing factor may be due to the presence of a conservative view on authority and its role. In this study this was reflected in management's expectations. An assumption that was often implied from discussions with senior managers was reflected in a view that the trickle-down effect of strong management leadership would eventually project itself on to HRM practices. While this assertion suggests a top-down approach, it also reflects a lack of appreciation of the strategic value that HRM plays in influencing organisational capacity and competitive success. Not only is the gap in rhetoric noteworthy for its indication of a neglect of HRM but it is also evident in more mundane operational management. Such a view holds no ground in the face of numerous intervening variables that include compatibility of skills and leadership capacities of the management team, degree of organisational flexibility reflected in institutional and structural arrangements, form and type of consultative processes utilised in the workplace, and the maintenance and sustainability of work processes conducive to productive labour-management relationships.

CAAF's monopoly on civil aviation functions and the demand for services is determined by a predictable seasonal pattern. Management's response to any increase in the demand for particular services depends on the perceived percentage increase. It was stated by the Principal Personnel Officer that if the increase was 30 per cent or more, then the immediate response would entail an increase in workplace capacity and the hiring of full time employees. If on the other hand the increase was less than thirty per

cent, then management would resort to overtime, the use of part-time workers and re-deployment of existing personnel. When asked about management's position in the event of a substantial decrease in the demand for services, the same respondent pointed out that while CAAF would not undertake any immediate action, cost-cutting measures without layoffs seemed to be the most likely option.

Another indication of the irrational neglect of HRM practices given the nature of the industry and the rhetoric of the organisation is seen in the lack of performance management techniques. While management conceded that the CAAF workplace was operating at normal capacity, with approximately 70 per cent of total costs incorporating labour costs, there was no system of formal benchmarking in place. Although benchmarking procedures are expected to be developed with the launching of a Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI) programme at the time of fieldwork, labour productivity was being monitored only through statistics collected on work attendance.

These revealed what management regarded as less than satisfactory attendance and so in November 1991, a sick leave bonus package was introduced as part of the negotiating process between management and the unions. The financial bonus provided was operated on the basis that for every 20 days of annual sick leave entitlement, a worker would get the equivalence of five days pay if ten days or less of their sick leave were utilised. Although attendance rates subsequently improved there have been mixed reactions among senior managers on this issue because it was felt that this incentive could be subject to abuse. It was also seen as an institutional endorsement of penalising healthy workers and placing pressure on the genuinely sick. In addition some managers were of the view that while this incentive may provide a short term remedy for

maintaining high levels of attendance it could quickly become costly in the long term. As an incentive it also had the potential for discouraging greater employee commitment and in this sense becomes a demotivator.

In addition to these internal benchmarks, CAAF uses external benchmarking standards set by agencies like ICAO for monitoring the quality of air safety services provided. A more indirect measure of product and service quality was obtained through customer responses from the travelling public, tenants on CAAF premises and the airlines. Neither of these sources of work standards seem to be reflected in actual implementation of performance management within CAAF. There were no formal performance indicators and this whole concept was perceived by one of the senior Personnel Officers as being inapplicable to this workplace.

The absence of HRM related practices is not, however, indicative of a managerial attitude which ignores the value of labour. Table 7.1 shows managers' responses to issues pertaining to employee relations in the workplace. The implications for motivation are seen in the extent to which behavioural norms governing authority in leader-led frameworks influence management's expectations of superior-subordinate relationships. Management was asked to rate each of these statements by choosing one of the following: 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. Table 7.1 provides the responses of CAAF management on various aspects of this relationship.

Table 7.1 Management's assessment of employee relations at CAAF

Aspects of the workplace	Level of agreement among managers
A. Establishing a corporate ethic and work-place culture	agree
B. Managers would choose quality improve-ments over labour cost reductions	agree
C. Management prefer to deal directly with employees and not through unions	partially agree
D. Management here thinks that the award system has worked well in the past for this workplace	not applicable
E. Management here thinks that negotiating with groups of employees or their unions over pay and conditions, is a better option to the award system	disagree
F. Management here would prefer to negotiate individual contracts with each employee to set their wages and conditions	agree
G. Management here believe negotiating of workplace or enterprise agreement will lead to improved workplace performance	agree
H. This organisation currently devotes resources to HRM in this workplace	agree
I. Unions representing employees here keep their word	agree
J. Unions here are seen by management as effectively representing members' views	agree
K. Management here would not mind dealing with trade unions should any employee join one	agree

Source: Based on data collected from General Management Questionnaire and unstructured interviews in CAAF field survey, Fiji.

The high degree of endorsement by managers on most of these aspects show management expectations of the norm but are not necessarily reflective of the actual situation in the workplace. The strong showing towards union activities may be explained by the fact that middle managers and senior officers in the Personnel Section who completed the general management questionnaire are staunch members of the FPSA and this is likely to bias management's response. Other senior managers

interviewed indicated that while they recognised that the workplace agreement was binding on all parties, there was room for improved consultative options that had the potential for enhancing employee-management relationships, which may in turn address issues of motivation.

Areas of organisational change which provide both threat and opportunity for motivation highlighted by management included the introduction of new technology and quality management techniques. New equipment pertaining to air traffic control services and the introduction of a total quality management emphasis through the concept of CQI were in place during the time of this study. While the new equipment has directly impacted on the professional capacities of air traffic controllers, it was too early to determine the impact of CQI on the total workforce. As in the case of ATS the decisions to introduce these changes into the workplace seem to have been undertaken mainly by management with some involvement from employees likely to be affected by the proposed changes. In most cases while the cooperation of union representatives regarding changes in the workplace were generally sought in a fairly indirect manner, the degree of direct involvement was determined by the nature of the proposed change.

In summary then, management's approach to HRM has been largely reactive in focus with the legacy of a centralised public service culture continuing to overshadow any of the more participatory and innovative leadership alternatives. It is interesting to note that neither the emergence of a new workers' association nor the introduction of CQI and the changing expectations of labour-management relationships these involve have not resulted in any significant change in an HRM focus. While HRM may have expanded its scope of functional activity, its status in the big organisational picture

appears to be deferential and supportive relative to other functions. A particular edge that was added to the subordination of HRM functions in this workplace referred to what one respondent described as “the uncommunicative and unassertive style” of the incumbent manager responsible for personnel (Indian, male, 40-49 years, manager, CAAF).

In discussions during fieldwork CAAF managers generally accepted the proposition that “while there were some innovative strategies in place there seemed to be a significant absence of a more strategic and integrated role that HRM could assume if human resources were to be efficiently managed” (Unstructured interviews with senior managers). To this picture of lack of attention to HRM issues in general must be added a further general characteristic of CAAF management with broad impacts on motivational potential; it is inclined towards a highly centralised and authoritarian system. The impact on motivation is that centralised controls which underrate and/or ignore the extenuating influences of context, are likely to face difficulties in developing a work culture conducive to maximising human potential. This is particularly so in Fiji where the articulation of values governing communal existence mitigate against the norms and practices of individual performance assumed in a system of market-oriented production.

Union activity in the workplace

CAAF is a heavily unionised workplace. Out of a total of 781 employees approximately 745 workers or 95 per cent are members of one of the five unions operating here. The fieldwork here concentrated on finding out the extent of union influence on employee perception and behaviour. Table 7.2 illustrates the level of union membership.

Table 7.2 Union membership in CAAF

Name of unions operating in CAAF	Number of employees who are registered members of each union	Percentage of total CAAF workforce
1 Fiji Public Service Association (FPSA)	365	48
2 CAAF Employees Union (CEU)	210	27
3 Public Employees Union (PEU)	115	15
4 Fiji Air Traffic Control Officers Association (FATCOA)	55	7
5 Civil Aviation Workers Association (CAWA)

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

.. not available.

Source: Based on data collected from Union Delegate Questionnaire, CAAF survey, Fiji.

The existence of several unions in this workplace reflects the different functional areas surrounding worker interests. While multi membership is not permitted under law, the establishment of several unions in a single workplace is allowed if there is evidence to show that the interests served are clearly distinct from one another. For each of the unions in Table 7.2 while the differences are based on occupational categories the distinction between the different interests is not clear. For instance while FPSA represents 'established' staff, CEU also represents 'established' staff but membership is restricted to employees of CAAF. The difference between these two groups is in the area of operation. FPSA represents established staff in the Public Service and statutory bodies while CEU is confined to the established category in CAAF itself. PEU and CAWA both represent 'unestablished' staff and like FPSA and CEU, they are differentiated by operational criteria.

Although the number of union members given during this study incorporated the total CAAF workforce, it was estimated that 90 per cent of these unionised employees were located in the Nadi workplace. While FPSA dominates union membership here, the small professionalised interest grouping of air traffic controllers (FATCOA) has continued to assert an equally strong bargaining position in the workplace. Despite the multiracial membership, these two unions also reflect the presence of a strong ethnic divide because while FPSA has a predominant Indian presence in its leadership, FATCOA has a strong ethnic Fijian dominance in theirs.

The power factions of the largest and smallest unions in this workplace indicate that numbers alone do not determine the basis of a union's strength in the workplace. The changing face of the workforce by way of education and increased training suggests the possibility that the more educated employee will also be a more informed union participant than his or her counterpart of twenty years ago. In this respect expectations of union roles in the workplace have changed considerably as members demand greater efficiency and accountability in the pursuit of their interests. While CAWA, a worker's association registered in March 1996, was at the time of this survey too new to have any real visibility in the workplace, the fact that it had been registered and recognised by respondents indicates levels of dissatisfaction with the status quo.

Although there is more than one union operating here, discussion on union activity in this workplace is confined to the largest group, the FPSA, not only because of its size, but because its years of operation in CAAF since the organisation started make it more likely reflect long term labour-management tendencies. In terms of FPSA's organisation it was noted that while all its members were from non-English speaking backgrounds,

14 per cent were female employees and about four per cent comprised workers under twenty-one years of age. All present and potential union members are drawn from the established staff category and include managers, professionals, para-professionals and clerks. The majority of FPSA members however are located in the categories of para-professionals and clerks with a few managers and an even smaller number from the category of professionals.

The organisation of union activities is a fairly centralised operation. Occupation groups with the most members have little influence over aspects of work that include how the work is done, the pace of work, the organisation of the workplace and work hours (CAAF Union Delegate Questionnaire, Fiji). It was pointed out by a senior FPSA official that as a general rule, agreement between FPSA and CAAF governing terms and conditions of employment dictated most of the aspects of work of concern to employees. All issues outside of this agreement were handled by FPSA representatives in the workplace. In terms of employee-management consultation, union officials stated that their members were encouraged to communicate directly with their superior officers on operational and technical matters. On any issues relating to work grievances and terms and conditions however, members were advised to use union officials as their first point of reference.

In the last twelve months union membership had increased by 35 through recruitment and membership drives conducted by union delegates located in the different sections. Recruitment strategies utilise both personal, one-to-one contact and formalised approaches through a letter of invitation. While union membership is not mandatory nor a requirement for potential employment, the following description by a long serving

employee and a senior union representative summed up the reasons for joining the union:

Its the attraction but not a requirement. Job security and terms and conditions are reasons why they join(Indian, male, 50-59 years, manager, CAAF).

FPSA has nine honorary officials in CAAF one of whom is a woman. Union officials are elected every two years. The description by a senior union official in CAAF of the work that he does is given here to illustrate the depth of experience in union activity.

My current job as section chief places me among the management team in this workplace. I have worked here for the last 33 years and have been a union official for twenty years. I have been actively involved in the recruitment process here as well as pushing for the extensive localisation programme. I have seen the development of union growth and the emergence of joint consultative committees practised here in the late 70s and early 80s. Since getting the union job, I have been re-elected every time. I spend an average ten hours a week attending to union business. Of this, five hours would be during work. It is not uncommon however that I spend up to seven hours a week attending meetings and up to five hours consulting with members. The agreement between FPSA and CAAF provides for the recognition of union activities in the workplace which allows me to call meetings during working hours. In most cases however we hold pocket meetings at times that are not disruptive to work, so lunchtime meetings are common. I would rate myself as being very skilled in handling union functions (Indian, male, 50-59 years, manager, Union Delegate Questionnaire, CAAF).

Tasks that unions were largely involved in were identified from a list of activities provided in the questionnaire as follows:

- Handle communications between union office and members
- Recruit members
- Handle queries about award conditions
- Handle individual grievances
- Handle equal employment opportunity issues
- Monitor and deal with OHS issues
- Handle sexual/racial harassment complaints
- Negotiate wage rises
- Negotiate about physical working conditions
- Negotiate about work practices
- Negotiate other employment conditions
- Negotiate workplace/enterprise agreement
- Participate on formal consultative committees
- Prepare newsletters/reports for members at this workplace (Union Delegate Questionnaire, CAAF survey, Fiji).

It is interesting to note that while most of the tasks listed above were undertaken by union officials, very little training was received on a majority of these functions. Most union officials interviewed said that most of the skills they had, were acquired through experience on the job and a process of trial and error. The general lack of training for these union activities suggests an underrating of the potential impact that specialist knowledge may have on enhancing interactive processes and relationships in the workplace. It also reflects an autocratic leadership style reminiscent of an older generation of union leadership.

Given the existence of several unions in CAAF there is an absence of inter-union relations. Each area of union activity has been closely guarded and while suggestions of amalgamation have been opposed by senior union officials in FPSA, notions of confederation appear to be an option that unions here are willing to give further consideration to. It is only occasionally that cooperation occurs. A case involving FPSA and FATCOA in 1995 highlighting aspects of victimisation against four FPSA members who were located in Air Traffic Control Services was cited as an example of conflict resolution requiring inter-union cooperation. In this particular instance the four FPSA members who were air traffic controllers argued that they were being bypassed in opportunities for promotions because they were not members of FATCOA which is the union representing their professional interest. Although FPSA eventually won this case, this illustration provides insights into the problems that are bound to emerge when the motives underlying the establishment of organised interests are not properly scrutinised prior to their endorsement. The implications for employee motivation in situations such as this lays the basis for discontent due to the practices of cronyism that are likely to emerge. While some of the unions sit on industry-based committees outside of this

workplace under the auspices of the Fiji Trades Union Congress (FTUC), there is no joint committee of union representatives and management in CAAF.

In general the relationship between employees and management at this workplace was described by the FPSA to be 'moderate'. This rating implies an inherent tension which appears to be associated with the progressive erosion of a traditionally acquiescent relationship. This is perceived in the existence of "double standards in staff housing policy which demoralised workers" (Indian, male, 50-59 years, manager, CAAF). In addition the cultivation of provincial factions in the community accentuated through the church, has led to a commonly held view that some of the senior managers strengthen their positions by drawing upon the support of 'unestablished' staff. The disenchantment with these relationships stem from the notion that senior managers were relying on the 'expertise' drawn from common regional and ethnic interests rather than relying on the training and experience of those in 'established' positions in the organisation. When this view was put to a FATCOA official, his response was reflective of the broader ethnic tensions seen in the following remarks:

If its an Indian view then take it with a pinch of salt, because they also work hard at strengthening their positions. The only reason why this has become an issue is because of the predominance of Fijians in management positions (Fijian, male, 40-49 years, professional, CAAF).

The master agreement between CAAF and FPSA provides terms and conditions of employment for salaried staff. Employees were consulted during the period of negotiation through meetings held in the different sections. It was pointed out that the absence of any major industrial dispute in the last ten years has not been due to a lack of problems, but rather to the "capacity of unions in containing potential problem areas" (Indian, male, 50-59 years, manager, CAAF). Parts of the agreement which the FPSA

claimed were not being implemented adequately included the biased nature of training awards and selection procedures, a lack of consultation by management, and issues relating to taxable gratuity despite the proviso that the latter ought to be non tax deductible. Given the ad hoc tendencies that management has shown in its interpretation of the agreement, there is a general feeling among senior FPSA officials that employees have benefited greatly from it.

Despite management's claim that it has always encouraged the representation of diverse worker interests in the workplace, it was pointed out that "this representative strategy was only being pursued to weaken the position of the more powerful unions like FPSA" (Indian, male, 40-49 years, clerk, CAAF). While notions of representativeness as a keystone of democratisation is encouraged by management, the particularities of a dual economy like Fiji mean that value systems associated with traditional and tribal modes of existence are bound to influence the extent to which representativeness is perceived as appropriate and really practised. One aspect of this influence is seen in the manner in which unions reflect the ethnic and regional loyalties at the centre of broader social life in Fiji. So while union rhetoric is about fairness and non-discrimination, union practice is often perceived as promoting exclusivity and protecting the power of existing factions in the workplace.

The desire for a corporate culture which is not undermined by acts of nepotism, favouritism and political patronage was a major concern highlighted by interviewees at all organisational levels. There is however an awareness in the workplace that unions have encouraged cronyism and factionalism. This is especially true of those employees not represented in the current leadership. As one young Fijian woman remarked,

“Unions are good but sometimes we feel that some people have become more equal than others” (Fijian, female, 20-29 years, clerk, CAAF).

In terms of organisational changes the FPSA felt that while new communications systems have enhanced the comparability of Fiji's aviation services in the region, and quality management techniques through CQI have improved morale and communication, labour-management relations still required considerable improvement. Experienced managers claimed that there has been a “lack of cooperation and commitment from management and a lack of comparable leadership capacities among the managers themselves” (Fijian, male, 40-49 years, manager, CAAF). The sense of strained relations between unions and management was apparent in this study and is hardly surprising given the nature of confrontational styles characteristic of a British style system of industrial relations management. In this case, however, the tension is not merely a product of the different interests of employees and managers as it was also seen to be affected by ethnicity, gender and the impact of social and economic dualism.

Employees in the workplace

Of the 781 employees in this organisation, a sample between 5 and 10 per cent of the total workforce was considered feasible for developing a picture of general attitudes within the organisation. An occupational breakdown of the CAAF sample is presented in Table 7.3

Table 7.3 Occupational grouping of respondents at CAAF

Occupational grouping of respondents	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of CAAF sample
Managers and administrators	4	6
Professionals	8	12
Para-professionals	14	21
Tradespersons and apprentices	12	18
Clerks	11	17
Salespersons and personal service workers	n.a.	n.a.
Plant and machine operators & drivers	4	6
Labourers and related workers	13	20

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Table 7.3 shows that in this workplace, the significant clusters of jobs include; para-professionals (21 percent), tradespersons and apprentices (12 percent), clerks (11 percent) and labourers and related workers (13 percent). The high levels of specialist expertise, trade skills and information processing-cum-administrative skills reflect the nature of enterprise that civil aviation entails. The nature of these occupational groupings also imply the existence of tasks that are performed on the basis of highly standardised procedures which are essential to ensuring aviation safety.

The absence of salespersons and personal service workers in this particular study is not conclusive because much depends on the future of organisational restructuring that CAAF is working towards as broad initiatives of public sector reform are implemented. So while this study did not find any occupational grouping that fell neatly into this category, one may expect this to change with job reclassification following possible shifts in organisational focus as a direct result of reform.

The employee survey was aimed at fulfilling two functions. The first dealt with obtaining personal characteristics of employees and the second measured workers' attitudes and expectations on various aspects of the job in the workplace. The second provided data on the socio-economic status of respondents and this was examined to gain insights into the background of employees and its impact on employee perceptions in the workplace.

A Personal characteristics and socio-economic status of respondents at CAAF

Given that personal bio-data and socio-economic status are accepted indicators of HRD, this section of the employee survey was necessary for determining the relationship between the level of HRD and employee perceptions of motivation and commitment to work. The variables for examining the HRD status of employees were age, ethnicity, gender, level of education, language used, marital status and household composition, health condition and caring responsibilities, years at work and income earned.

1 Age

The relevance of the age variable was that age is a key determinant of social relationships in the community and can therefore be expected to influence individual behaviour at work. In terms of motivational aspects these behavioural determinants can be a factor restricting the extent to which individuals maximise opportunities at work for enhancing their own potential. Table 7.4 presents the particular features of age in an aggregated form.

Table 7.4 Age categories of respondents at CAAF

Age category	Number of respondents in each age category	Percentage of CAAF sample
20-29 years old	9	13
30-39	23	35
40-49	23	35
50 and over	11	17

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Of the 66 respondents, 48 percent were between the ages of 20 and 39 years while 52 percent were aged 40 years and over. So one can see that while there is a high percentage of young(ish) workers, the higher percentage of older workers suggests that a majority of employees in this category may have been in this workplace since its establishment as a statutory body. It also reflects a high level of staff retention. The implication for employee motivation is seen in the extent to which age differentials influence social exchange and interaction at work. Whilst respondents were quick to argue that age is not a significant factor on the job, work practices showed otherwise. Observations of interactive processes on the job showed that respect for elders and deference to seniority were accepted and acted on by both younger and older people in the workplace.

2 Ethnicity

Stereotypes of ethnicity are common and one would expect that it would influence employee perception in this workplace. The ethnic breakdown is reflected in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Ethnic composition of respondents at CAAF

Ethnic group	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of CAAF sample
Fijians	40	61
Indians	21	32
Others	5	7

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
'Others' is an official enumerating category and includes all ethnic groups who do not fit into the category of 'Fijians' or 'Indians'.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Although the ethnic breakdown reflects a significant proportion of Fijians, the actual workforce comprises a more balanced composition between the two main ethnic groups. It is interesting to note that while ethnicity is not a part of any minimum qualification requirement (MQR) for jobs in the workplace, there is a general supposition that ethnicity assumes a pivotal role in the final selection. In essence recruitment procedures work on two lists. The first comprises ethnic Fijian and Rotuman names only and the second is an 'Others' list comprising all other ethnic groups. The reasons for having a multi-ethnic balance in CAAF range from strategic considerations relating to the inherent dangers of ethnic dominance in the workplace, to the maintainance of government policy as enshrined in the Constitution which stipulates strategies of affirmative action that reserve 50 per cent of positions for ethnic Fijians and 50 per cent for other ethnic groups.

Employee response to the ethnic issue showed that older employees irrespective of ethnic background and gender displayed higher levels of tolerance in their views regarding ethnic interaction in the workplace. Typical responses agreed that:

When we started work, there was no separating of races. You know we are like brothers, we share and care for each other-we see ourselves as family. But today its different and although it has changed we know that we can still live and worktogether (Fijian and Indian, males, 50 years and over, labourers, CAAF).

Younger and more educated workers did not see ethnicity in the same light. They were more accepting of multiracialism as a fact of life but felt that ethnicity should not be used as a leverage for creating unnecessary divisions within the workplace. As one of the middle managers remarked, “It is a non issue and should not be given any more credit than what it deserves” (Indian male, 30-39 years, manager, CAAF). Generally speaking, while ethnic integration is high, the workplace is not immune to instances of ethnic divisiveness when stakeholders use race as a bargaining tool to strengthen their positions. In terms of motivation, such behaviour perpetuates a climate of distrust and suspicion and mitigates against a better integration of human capacities.

3 Gender

The cultural influence of gender has a significant impact on employee behaviour in the workplace because it limits the integration of human capacities in more productive forms and may be a major hindrance to effective communication and efficient work processes. The gender composition of respondents is shown in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Gender composition of respondents at CAAF

Gender	Number of respondents in each gender	Percentage of CAAF sample
Males	55	83
Females	11	17

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

The 83 percent of the respondents in this study who are males, reflect the gender imbalance in CAAF. Managers and union officials interviewed on this particular aspect were of the view that while gender was not considered in the selection process, the nature of the jobs and rostered shifts in particular services were key factors that often

dissuaded women from applying. Given that the majority of managers and union officials are males, this view appears to reflect a stereotypical view of what constitutes male and female work.

Among female respondents who were asked the same question two distinct views emerged. The older and not so well educated female employees who were employed in traditionally 'female' jobs were quite content with their lot and were not keen to make an issue of gender inequities in the workplace. The younger and more educated women who had entered traditional domains of men's work such as electrical engineering, air traffic control and avionics systems (a specialised communications field), were keen to express their views on what one described as an "institutional male dominance in the system which could be systematically removed if management was more fully committed to doing so" (Fijian, female, 20-29 years, tradesperson, CAAF).

Generally speaking, gender in this workplace reflects wider social divisions of labour in Fiji, in which men perform key integral functions and women undertake supportive roles. It is therefore not remarkable that in CAAF, the highly paid jobs and key decision-making positions are held by men while routine, low skilled and low paying jobs are held by women.

4 Level of education

While the relationship between literacy and productivity is widely recognised its relevance in this study is linked to the impact that social and cultural factors may have in shaping the perceptions of what may be considered to be even the most informed and

educated. Table 7.7 shows a breakdown of the highest level of education achieved among these respondents.

Table 7.7 Educational level of respondents at CAAF

Highest level of education achieved	Number of respondents in each level	Percentage of CAAF sample
Primary school	7	11
Secondary school	38	57
Vocational and/or apprenticeships	11	17
Tertiary or equivalence	10	15

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

The composition of this educational variable is not remarkable in view of the specialised nature of civil aviation functions. The high proportion of employees who attained secondary school qualifications at the level of school leaving certificate(47 percent) reflect one of the key minimum qualification requirements (MQR) that most public sector organisations insist on when advertising for required positions. The 42 percent of employees who have attained trade certification through apprenticeship schemes and in-service training illustrate core requirements for specialist fields which are essential prerequisites for the CAAF jobs.

5 Language

As was the case with ATS employees, all respondents at CAAF used their mother tongue in the home, but also frequently used English. While English is the official medium, it is quite common to use English in conjunction with a vernacular language to communicate at work. Fijian and Hindi are the two main vernacular languages and the incidence of dual language speakers in Fijian workplaces is to be expected.

6 Marital status and household composition

In this study 89 percent of the sixty six respondents were married and 11 percent were unmarried. Table 7.8 provides insights into living arrangements in the home.

Table 7.8 Living arrangements of respondents at CAAF

Options in living arrangements	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of CAAF sample
Option 1 Those who live with their spouse and children only	27	41
Option 2 Those who live with their spouse and children and other relatives	32	48
Option 3 Those who live with their parents or other established living arrangements	7	11

Note : All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source : Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

The living arrangements of a nuclear family comprising parents and their offspring were practised by 41 percent of the respondents. Those who had other relatives living with them besides their own immediate family comprised 48 percent and illustrates the presence of extended family practices. The third option refers to respondents who were unmarried and who stayed in the family home. This consists 11 percent of the total. Boarding with relatives or shared tenancy arrangements in rental flats were the common practices for unmarried workers who came in from outside of the Nadi area for employment purposes. Although CAAF provides single staff quarters for both genders it is limited to employees in the category of established staff.

Despite the high incidence of extended living arrangements shown in this sample, the average size of these households is 3.3. The extended household was common amongst ethnic Fijians and shows that even among urban-based ethnic Fijian workers

maintaining wider family links is highly valued in their social practices. The nuclear family lifestyle in Option 1 was common amongst Indian respondents, and reflects the importance they attribute to individualistic preferences as compared to the communal and group-oriented lifestyles of ethnic Fijians. The small number of ethnic Fijian respondents who lived with their immediate families only also indicated that they nearly always had transient relatives visiting and staying over for short periods.

In terms of dependent children, 24 percent of the sixty-six respondents had no dependent children and the remaining 76 percent had a total of 121 children. The average number of dependent children per household in this sample was 1.8 and implies the existence of small sized families. It is interesting to note that CAAF acquired considerable staffing quarters from the previous SPATC administration which provided this benefit for expatriate staff from the early years of its existence. Today the majority of established staff have access to housing benefits and live on the CAAF compound. There is a strict housing code in place and while employees may have members of their kin group living with them, eligibility to live in staff quarters is closely monitored for security and safety reasons. This has been a factor in the presence of small sized families.

The existence of a close knit community in the CAAF compound comprising the workplace, staff quarters, leisure facilities and houses of worship of Hindu, Muslim and Methodist religions have created a real sense of multicultural identity in the lifestyles of employees who live and work here. So while ethnic compartmentalisation remains apparent in the CAAF community, there is a pervading sense of 'family' when community functions within CAAF require a pooling of resources. Indications have

been made however, that in some instances the demands of the organisation on employees' time and commitment outside of the workplace have been "too much, too frequent and too costly" (Fijian, female, 30-39 years, clerk, CAAF). When it was put to interviewees that they had the right of choice in participating in non work-related activities, some were convinced that while this may be so, there was an expectation of participation. One of the younger employees was adamant that "non participation in social and religious functions was closely monitored in the CAAF community and was used in determining future prospects on the job" (Fijian, male, 20-29 years, tradesman, CAAF).

Situations such as this reflect instances of bureaucratisation in which organisations move beyond the workplace and impose a degree of regimentation on the home environment of its employees. It may well be that a demotivating factor in cultivating total employee commitment results from conflicting interests and expectations of authority structures that extend beyond the workplace and impinge upon the personal lives of employees.

7 Health condition and health caring

In terms of general health, 89 percent of the respondents indicated that they did not have any long term health problems. While this initially reflects a 'healthy' workforce, it is important to understand that cultural perceptions of 'health' will most likely bias responses on this issue. Discussions with Fijian and Indian respondents reflected instances of religious values pervading perceptions of health. This is not remarkable as these reflect societal stereotypes.

As with ATS employees stress was indicated as a recurring ailment among a small number of respondents and its occurrence was seen as a combination of pressures at work and at home. In terms of family care, 70 percent of the respondents stated that they do not have any sick or aging family member to care for while 27 percent said that they had this responsibility. While this is a small sample, the number of respondents who provide caring services within the home is a considerable proportion of the group. The implications of this caring function for productivity is seen in the aspect of family life where limited institutional facilities for these specialised services place added responsibilities on employees. While this may only apply to leisure time there is clearly a potential for this responsibility to affect work time indirectly through anxiety, and directly through both absence and reduced concentration when present.

8 Years of work

This question was necessary for determining the relationship between tenure on the job and employee commitment. Table 7.9 illustrates the years at work among these respondents.

Table 7.9 Years of work among respondents at CAAF

Number of years worked at this workplace	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of CAAF sample
Less than 12 months	5	7
1-5 years	19	29
6-10	9	14
11-20	11	17
21-30	19	29
31-40	3	4

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Among this group of respondents there is a generally equal spread of years worked. 36 percent have worked here over a period ranging from under twelve months to five years. 31 percent have worked here over a period ranging from six to twenty years, and 33 percent have been here for periods that range between twenty-one and forty years. It is likely that half of the second group were part of the initial staff complement when CAAF was established.

While there is a distinct group of younger employees in the organisation the existence of senior employees indicate high staff retention. This feature is characteristic of public sector agencies. It is more so in CAAF because added to the relatively high salary and wages structure, housing benefits and the provision of social and recreational facilities for employees in the CAAF compound provide an added attraction.

9 Gross weekly income

As has been seen in the literature reported in Chapters 2 and 3, income is generally regarded as a strong pull factor. In the Fiji context, however, it might be expected that cultural influences pertaining to the relative value of money may have an impact on the motivation to work. Table 7.10 illustrates a breakdown of income categories among respondents.

Table 7.10 Categories of gross weekly income among respondents at CAAF

Gross weekly income (Fijian dollars)	Number of respondents per income category	Percentage of CAAF sample
Less than FJ\$100	1	2
100-299	42	64
300-499	15	23
500-699	5	7
700-899	3	4

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

In this group 64 percent of the respondents received between 100 and 299 Fijian dollars a week, 23 percent received between 300 and 499 dollars, and 11 percent received between 500 and approximately 900 dollars. These high wages not only reflect the relatively high wages enjoyed in the economy at large as referred to in the ATS study in Chapter 6, but are also a reflection of the strength of collective bargaining in the workplace; a benefit which has been guarded and contested strongly by union activity here.

The background of these employees reflect the characteristics of socio-economic growth that is to be expected in an industrialising context. At the outset it also illustrates a level of development in which the common indicators for human resource development such as education, health and income places Fiji among the ranks of high HRD countries (UNDP HRD Report, 1997). Given the high standing of HRD its link to motivation will be gauged in the next section by examining employee responses to aspects of work and change in the workplace and the extent to which this rubs off on employee attitudes and motives to commitment in the workplace.

B Attitudes and perceptions of respondents at CAAF

Having being provided with insights into the personal and socio-economic characteristics of employees, this second part of the survey examines employee responses on a range of work related issues within the framework of labour-management relationships. Areas in which employees were asked to evaluate included an overview of work in general, job provisions and special benefits, options for time off, changes at work, consultative processes, job satisfaction and motives to work.

1 Employee response to work in general

In an attempt to determine employee attitudes to work, general areas covered were employees' perceptions of work hours and benefits. In terms of work hours the thirty-seven hour work week is a legal requirement of all Fijian workplaces. 52 percent of respondents indicated that they do not work overtime while 48 percent stated that they usually work overtime at an average of one to four hours a week. Given the nature of aviation work especially for sections like fire services and air traffic control, overtime is not remarkable and is to be expected. When asked about how they felt about their work hours, 86 percent were generally happy with the current arrangements and 14 percent preferred to see greater flexibility in work hours. In terms of work benefits most of the respondents were aware of their entitlements to paid holidays and sick leave. Employee responses to particular provisions will now be examined.

2 Employee response to provisions on the job

This question was aimed at determining the links between individual expectations and the relevance of provisions on the job in meeting those needs. The provisions were grouped in three categories labelled A, B and C under common themes of work provisions. A included provisions of different work arrangements, B looked at provisions of specific training and C addressed provisions of specific benefits on the job. Respondents were asked to indicate 'yes', 'no', 'don't know' or 'irrelevant' to each of these aspects.

Table 7.11 Employee response to provisions on the job at CAAF

Provisions on the job	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not relevant %	Not stated %
A Different work arrangements					
Fixed contract	15	80	5	n.a.	n.a.
Permanent part-time work	14	47	18	18	3
Chance to work from home sometimes	18	61	6	12	3
B Specific training					
OHS training	53	35	n.a.	7	5
Job training	77	17	n.a.	5	1
Training to read and write in English	11	56	n.a.	26	7
C Specific benefits					
Maternity or paternity leave	20	30	6	37	7
Childcare partly or wholly funded by employer	14	61	9	15	1
Use of work telephone for family reasons	38	45	7	9	1
Pay rise due to age, years of service or promotion over last 12 months	48	50	1	n.a.	1
Bonus and incentives linked to job performance over last 12 months	21	67	n.a.	n.a.	12

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Although a small number of respondents indicated that they were on a fixed contract (15 percent), doing permanent part-time work (14 percent) and had the chance to work from home sometimes (18 percent), the majority indicated no access to these different work arrangements. This was because such alternatives are not part of the standard work provisions. Affirmative responses on this aspect illustrate one of two things. Where these arrangements are being used they are representative of ad hoc practices arising

because of the exceptional circumstances of particular jobs. On the other hand, they may also indicate something of a wish list with respondents indicating a growing attraction for what is perceived to be possible future options. Those respondents who were unsure were most likely to be unaware of what these provisions entailed while those who said that these were 'irrelevant' reinforce the perception that alternative arrangements are impossible in the currently rigidly structured nature of employment conditions.

In terms of specific training provisions, the affirmative responses given to OHS training (53 percent) and job training (77 percent) is to be expected. High risk work and maintaining high levels of safety standards are basic requirements for specialised aviation functions. Those who indicated an absence of these particular training experiences are more likely to be doing low risk and administrative work. The negative responses given to enhancing English literacy levels (56 percent) parallels those observed at ATS and has more to do with saving 'face' rather than developing a mastery of functional English which might impact on increasing efficiency in the workplace. Respondents who indicated that such training was irrelevant (26 percent) often expressed sentiments similar to the one who added that this seemed more like "a ploy aimed at diverting attention away from a teaching of the real skills needed for the job" (Indian, male, 20-29 years, tradesman, CAAF). While there was no proof of this, the resentment emanating from the discussion on possible outcomes of this English language training seems to arise from broader insecurities and low confidence associated with second language speakers.

Employees' responses to the provision of specific benefits vary among those who indicated that they enjoyed the benefits through those who stated otherwise, to those

who deemed these aspects irrelevant. For instance, while 20 percent confirmed that they had access to maternity or paternity leave, 30 percent stated that they did not have this provision while 37 percent saw this issue as irrelevant. These responses illustrate a gap in information on basic entitlements covered in the workplace agreement. They show that even the most standard of provisions assumed to be understood by all employees are quite often the benefits that are underrated in terms of its impact on enhancing employees' emotional and physical well being. While paternity leave is acknowledged, societal stereotypes view reproductive roles and associated behaviour as largely women's concerns. Male respondents who had utilised paternity provisions were not keen that it be made known. This may also explain the reason behind responses of 'irrelevance' among a large number of male respondents.

The absence of childcare provisions (61 percent) is not remarkable since this is not a popular practice in workplace management and in the community. The use of a work phone for family reasons is interesting because while 38 percent of the respondents stated that they did have access to this facility, 45 percent said they did not. One of the senior managers felt that this was an irrelevant question as "telephones should not be used for personal reasons" (Other, male, 40-49 years, manager, CAAF). While such opinions reflect a peculiar naivety of top management, it reaffirms the authoritarian management style which has featured significantly in the organisation of this workplace.

3 Employee response to options for time off

The question was directed at the extent and manner in which caring for a sick family member and fulfilling social or customary obligations impacted on work time. The provisions for leave from which respondent choices were made for these purposes were:

- 1 Use my own paid sick leave
- 2 Use paid holiday leave
- 3 Take time off and make it up later
- 4 Go on leave without pay
- 5 I couldn't take time off and make it up later
- 6 Swap shifts (CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji)

Employees were asked to indicate provisions they would use in meeting the needs of caring for a sick family member and the number of times these were used in the last twelve months. In order to determine a pattern of choice from multiple responses given, the common provision used by all respondents in each group formed the basis of group formation. Table 7.12 illustrates the four dominant groups who identified options that could be utilised for caring purposes.

Table 7.12 Options for time off for caring of sick family member and actual use in last 12 months among respondents at CAAF

Groups of possible options for time off for caring	Number of respondents per group	Percentage of CAAF sample	Number of times option used by respondents in last 12 months
Group 1 Those who would particularly use sick leave	21	32	143 times
Group 2 Those who would particularly use paid leave but not sick leave	20	30	68
Group 3 Those who would only use paid holiday leave	16	24	66
Group 4 Those who would use ad hoc arrangements like taking time off and making it up later and swapping shifts	9	14	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Employees’ options for possible time off to fulfill caring needs in the home were centred around paid sick leave and paid holiday leave. Respondents in Group 1 indicated that they would predominantly use sick leave and varying degrees of other provisions (32 percent) to perform this role. Other respondents who would use paid leave but specifically exclude the use of sick leave in their choice of other provisions

comprised 30 percent. Those who would only use paid holiday leave for caring functions made up 16 percent while those who would not consider the use of paid holiday and sick leave among their choices for time off amounted to 14 percent of the respondents.

When asked the number of times these options were used in the last twelve months, the trend shows a difference between probable and actual outcomes in employee behaviour. Generally speaking, the number of times that options were actually used in the last twelve months were minimal. It suggests that while employees (and management) are aware of the fact that provisions for time off are often utilised for purposes other than what they are formally intended for, there was no apparent abuse of these practices. The difference in practice relates to holiday pay and perhaps both employees and managers simply accept this as 'reasonable' for cultural reasons.

The gap between possible choice and actual practice is not remarkable and illustrates a degree of flexibility in management's acceptance of work standards that deviate from the formal norm to accommodate cultural realities. Employees on the other hand also recognise such behaviour is acceptable. This shows how informal and non work-related needs are built into the formalised arrangements of work systems.

The extent to which social needs of employees influence perception and behaviour in the workplace is illustrated further by their responses regarding the use of leave for social or customary obligations as shown in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13 Options for time off for social or customary obligations among respondents at CAAF

Groups of possible options for time off for social or customary obligations	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of CAAF sample
Group 1 Those who would only use paid holiday leave	33	50
Group 2 Those who would use all forms of provisions for time off	23	35
Group 3 Those who would only use provisions of taking time off and making it up later and/or swap shifts	10	15

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF field survey, Fiji.

50 percent of the respondents stated that they would only use paid leave for this purpose. For 35 percent in Group 2, the indiscriminate attitude reflected in the exercise of choice of leave showed a level of partial commitment to organisational needs in the face of personal needs requiring immediate attention. The majority of respondents who indicated that they would use paid holiday leave reinforces the distinction in expectations and practices previously noted between local necessities and formal systems.

4 Employee response to changes in the workplace

Employee responses to changes in the workplace were necessary because of the cultural influences surrounding notions of change that impact upon employee behaviour and motivation. Respondents were given seven aspects of work in the questionnaire and asked to indicate whether these had 'gone up', 'gone down', or had 'no change'. Table 7.14 shows employee responses to change at work.

Table 7.14 Employee response to changes in aspects of work at CAAF

Changes in aspects of work	Gone up %	Gone down %	No change %	Don't know %	Not stated %
Decisions affecting you	21	11	54	8	6
Use of own ideas to do work	54	n.a.	35	6	5
Chance to get a more senior job here	24	3	37	30	6
Effort put into the job	78	1	11	5	5
Stress in the job	48	8	28	11	5
Job satisfaction	68	9	13	5	5
Satisfaction in balance between family life and work	41	6	44	3	6

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Apart from the significant increases in effort put into the job (78 percent), job satisfaction (68 percent), the use of own ideas to do work (54 percent), and job stress (48 percent), all familiar from ATS respondents there is a general leveling out among the remaining aspects in perceived areas of increased change and no change. This may be explained by the fact that employees tend to reflect a close affiliation with those aspects of work that have a direct bearing on the fulfilment of immediate needs. Work areas which were said to have a significant showing of no change included decisions affecting employees (54 percent) and the chance for promotion (30 percent). In such highly centralised work organisation these are areas in which employees felt little direct control and this certainly affected their perception of change.

The implications for motivation in this particular case are seen in a distinct awareness among employees of the limitations that they have with regards to actual control over their job and promotion prospects. The professed lack of knowledge among 30 percent of respondents who claimed uncertainty of promotion chances was common among ethnic Fijians. The lack of knowledge has more to do with social values that govern individual behaviour in the group rather than individual potential per se. So while the individual is expected to project group interests before self interests at all times, publicly acknowledging one's own capabilities is frowned upon as a sign of immaturity and selfish behaviour. So individuals would not be likely to express a direct interest in these areas of personal advancement.

5 Employee response to changes in the last twelve months

While the previous table looked at employee responses to change in the workplace in general, responses reported in Tables 7.15a and 7.15b relate to change in the last twelve months. Two general areas were covered. Table 7.15a looked at changes in pay, work hours and training received on the job. For each of these aspects, respondents were asked to indicate whether these had increased, decreased or had not changed. Table 7.15b sought an employee overview on change in work type, work methods and organisation of the workplace.

Table 7.15a Employee response to changes in the last twelve months at CAAF

Changes over last 12 months	Gone up %	Gone down %	No change %	Don't know %
Gross weekly pay	54	5	38	3
Hours of work per week	18	2	78	2
Hours of work per day	17	2	78	3
Days per week of work	12	3	83	2
Amount of training received	38	12	44	6

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

The responses to changes in the last twelve months show a distinct polarisation of opinions between perceived increases and no change. The high incidences of no change in aspects of work which cover work hours and work days are to be expected as these are highly regulated. Confirmation of training received in this period is closely linked to the nature of the job. Specialised and emergency services receive on the job training more regularly than those who perform administrative and clerical functions. Likewise respondents' assessment of gross weekly pay is not remarkable given that collective agreements in the workplace provide for any increases that may be enjoyed by employees.

Table 7.15b **Employee overview of change in the last twelve months at CAAF**

General aspects of work	Yes %	No %
Type of work you do	44	56
How you do your job	56	44
Way workplace is run	47	53
Changes over last 12 months	52	48

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

When respondents were asked to provide an overall assessment of changes in the last twelve months, one detects a general level of ambivalence to change. This is reflected in the overall balance of responses to change that employees indicated. So for instance, while 44 percent of respondents said that there were changes in the type of work they did, 56 percent indicated that they experienced no change. The inverse of this was reflected in the question relating to work methods where 56 percent admitted to change occurring and 44 percent stating an absence of change.

In general responses in this study show that employees have not displayed an overwhelming desire to change. Where change has occurred, it has not been fully

acknowledged even by this group of respondents. Such attitudes to change may be expected of industrialising societies. It is particularly so in Fiji where the value systems governing dual modes of existence reflect insecurity and a desire for instability even in the behaviour of employees who enjoy organisational security and job tenure. While this level of conservatism towards change is to be expected the implication for motivation is the limitation of the extent to which innovative ideas for increasing productivity are recognised as crucial to the change process required for economic growth.

6 Employee response to consultative processes

Respondents were asked to indicate the type of consultation which informed them about changes in the workplace by choosing from the following list:

- Type 1- Supervisors discussed changes with me
- Type 2- Managers at a higher level discussed changes with me
- Type 3- Other workers told me
- Type 4- The union discussed changes with me
- Type 5- Found out through workplace notice or newsletter
- Type 6- Went to meetings where changes were discussed (CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji)

An initial analysis of the multiple responses obtained resulted in the formation of five groups in which the consultation type that was common to all respondents was used as the rallying point for each group. Table 7.16 illustrates employee choice of consultation types.

Table 7.16 **Employee response to forms of consultation about changes in the workplace at CAAF**

Groups of consultation types used in communicating workplace changes	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of CAAF sample
Group 1		
Specifically type 1 and to a lesser extent others	22	33
Group 2		
Specifically type 2 and to a lesser extent others	15	23
Group 3		
Specifically type 3 and to a lesser extent others	5	8
Group 4		
Specifically type 5 and to a lesser extent others	3	4
Group 5		
Specifically type 6 and to a lesser extent others	4	6
Group 6		
Those who did not indicate any type and who saw this issue as inapplicable	17	26

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

It is interesting to note that while 26 percent of respondents saw consultation as inapplicable (Group 6), the remaining 74 percent gave some indication of the types of consultation used. The group of respondents who did not see the relevance of this question had also indicated that there was no change in the workplace. While the responses from the majority of those surveyed suggest that there have been changes at work, the particular response of 'no change' indicates the existence of a small but significant (26 percent) group of individuals who are non committal about change and the crucial processes of employee interaction.

As seen from Table 7.16 the most common types of consultation used by 56 percent of respondents are the top-down approaches reflected in types 1 and 2 in which higher level managers and supervisors discussed changes with employees. This is not remarkable in view of the fact that this is the organisational norm. The minimal use of collegial and participatory forms of consultation indicate that employees continue to utilise and respond to more authoritarian means. The extraordinary mix of consultation

types imply that while all five types have been used in varying frequencies by respondents, the most common combination was of both top-down and participatory approaches as was the case at ATS.

When respondents were asked whether they were given a fair chance in having a say about changes here, 38 percent indicated that they were given this opportunity. The 62 percent who said that they were denied a fair chance pointed to the existence of a centralised and autocratic system as being the major cause of this. Management being the sole decision maker, decisions being made at higher levels outside of the workplace, collusion between management and unions, and limited employee participation were the main reasons given by employees for the lack of a fair chance to express their views. Given the subjectivity attached to relative notions such as fairness, one may expect perceptions of actual practices to be influenced by individual motives and self interest. Nonetheless since such subjective factors are central to motivation the fact that employees feel ignored must be considered significant.

7 Employee influence on aspects of work

This question was aimed at seeing how cultural influences of control impacted on individual perceptions of influence. A list of five areas were provided in the questionnaire and respondents were asked to indicate the degree of influence that they had. The findings are presented in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17 Employee response to degree of influence over aspects of work at CAAF

Aspects of work	A lot of influence %	Some influence %	A little influence %	No influence %	Not applicable %
Type of work you do	53	27	15	5	n.a.
How you do your work	65	18	10	2	5
When you start and finish work	46	21	15	12	6
Way work-place is run	26	20	26	18	10
Decisions which affect you at this workplace	26	21	24	21	8

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

While the levels of influence are rated in varying degrees, the pattern in this study showed that most respondents felt they exerted some degree of influence in the workplace. It is most likely that the degree of influence is linked to one's position in the organisational hierarchy. So for instance the more senior the position, the greater the degree of influence. On the other hand the study suggests that the exercise of influence is also linked to the degree of affinity that these aspects of work have with the individual's immediate needs. So while more than 80 percent of the respondents exert varying degrees of influence over work type, work methods and work hours, an average of 70 percent said that they had influence over the running of the workplace and in decision-making which directly affected them.

The exercise of influence reflects tendencies of territorial control. It is also a peculiarity of benevolence and acquiescent behaviour in the Fijian context in which the norms governing behaviour perpetuate structures of authority and institutional control which in turn, accentuates the gap between formal, organisational goals and informal personal needs. The potential impact on motivation is once again to be seen in this gap between

the orders of necessity captured in organisational culture on the one hand and social culture on the other.

8 Employee satisfaction with aspects of work

Determining levels of satisfaction is never an easy task given the value bias of such notions. Eight aspects of work were provided and respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with each respective item. Table 7.18 presents a summary of these findings.

Table 7.18 Employee response to satisfaction with aspects of work at CAAF

Aspects of work	Satisfied %	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied %	Dissatisfied %	Don't know %	Not relevant to me %
Job related training received on the job	48	12	32	n.a.	8
OHS training received at work	45	14	21	9	11
Training to read and write in English	24	6	11	3	56
Chances for senior job here	29	12	15	30	14
The way management treats workers here	32	18	39	5	6
Access to phone at work for family reasons	65	2	13	5	15
Safety and comfort of work conditions	51	11	32	3	3
Overall job	69	13	13	2	3

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

In general there is no overwhelming level of satisfaction indicated in respondents' choices. The degree of satisfaction ranges from 24 percent who were satisfied with

English language training to 69 percent who were satisfied with the overall job. Those who were dissatisfied with aspects of work included 39 percent who expressed dissatisfaction with management's treatment of employees, 32 percent who were not satisfied with the level of job related training and 32 percent who were dissatisfied with safety aspects of work conditions.

The number of respondents who said that they were 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied' with given aspects and those who could not provide a more definitive position as reflected in the 'don't know' category, illustrate a small but nevertheless significant level of indifference and non committal that is present in the workplace. The use of avoidance strategies in the protection of one's interests and in maintaining territorial control is not an uncommon feature of human behaviour and is a characteristic of ethnic Fijian behavioural norms. The number of respondents who viewed the determination of satisfaction levels as 'not relevant' may have more to do with developing a front that masks actual feelings of satisfaction rather than ignorance on the matter. Respondents in this latter category who were asked the reasons why they saw satisfaction as an irrelevant issue, were of the view that satisfaction was an assumed aspect of the job which did not require specific attention. While it suggests a lack of a fuller appreciation of the linkages between satisfaction and motives that ultimately direct behaviour, it illustrates again the overriding influence of societal norms regarding self vis-a-vis group interests.

9 Employee contentment at work

Like satisfaction, contentment focused on the level of agreement that employees had with statements related to various aspects of work. This section looked at degrees of

employee contentment at three levels in the workplace. They were aspects of the job, union activities in the workplace and general area of organisation and management. Respondents were provided with a list of statements under these three common themes and were asked to rate contentment by choosing one of four options given. The options were 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' and 'don't know'. The respective findings are separately presented in Tables 7.19a, 7.19b and 7.19c. Responses to job contentment are shown in Table 7.19a.

Table 7.19a Employee response to contentment with aspects of the job at CAAF

Aspects of the job	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
I get fairly paid for the job I do	59	14	24	3
I do lots of different tasks in my job	79	3	15	3
I feel insecure about my future here	21	17	48	14
My job is very stressful	38	18	36	8
This is a good place to work	86	8	3	3
I often think about leaving the job	12	12	67	9
I put a lot of effort into my job	88	9	3	n.a.

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Aspects of work which showed high levels of contentment included effort put into the job (88 percent), the attraction of being employed in this workplace (86 percent), multi-tasking at work (79 percent) and receiving fair pay (59 percent). While these responses are not remarkable, they illustrate the relativity of individual perceptions. It is likely that ratings are influenced by the perceived degree of affinity that aspects of work have with

the fulfilment of needs. In terms of discontentment, the three aspects of work that received low ratings of endorsement were the same ones that received high ratings of disagreement. These included thoughts about leaving the job (67 percent), feelings of insecurity (48 percent) and job stress (36 percent). The small but significant number of people who indicated their indifference ('neither agree nor disagree') or uncertainty ('don't know') in response to this question is interesting because it suggests a degree of unwillingness to fully participate in and be committed to the broader aspects of work that are likely to enhance efficiency.

The second area of contentment relates to employee assessment of union activities and its relevance to motivation is seen in the compatibility of employee-union expectations. Respondents were provided with statements covering a range of union activities and were asked to rate them according to levels of agreement or disagreement. Table 7.19b shows employees' assessment of contentment with union activities.

Table 7.19b **Employee contentment with union activities at CAAF**

Union roles in the workplace	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
Union here does a good job in improving members' pay and conditions	86	9	2	3
Union takes notice of members' problems and complaints	83	5	6	6
Union gives members a say in how the union operates	61	15	15	9
Unions do a good job representing members when dealing with management	83	6	5	6
Management and unions do their best to get on with one another	47	6	30	17
If I were totally free to choose, I would rather be in a union than not in one	66	9	14	11
If you want to get on at this workplace, it isn't a good idea to be in a union	5	16	68	11
Overall, I am satisfied with the service union provides to members	80	3	12	5

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

In terms of employee ratings of unions in the workplace, the high levels of contentment with union activities is not remarkable given the equally high level of member support that unions have here. Union roles that received high contentment included negotiations of pay and conditions (86 percent), dealing with problems and complaints (83 percent), liaising with management on behalf of union members (83 percent), and a general satisfaction with union services (80 percent). While these ratings project a strong union position, respondents were also quick to note that members have a minimal say in union operations (61 percent), are limited in exercising freedom of choice in choosing union

membership (66 percent) and that union-management relationships are far from being at their best (47 percent).

Union activities which reflected a marked level of employee discontentment were confined to anticipated benefits of union membership and the nature of building partnerships between union and management. 68 percent of respondents disagreed with the view that career prospects are better achieved by being a non-union member, while 30 percent disagreed with the notion that management and unions did their best in getting along with one another. Respondents who showed indifference and uncertainty have been unwilling to be more open about their views on unions due to a fear of being victimised. While there was no proof of this victimisation actually occurring, the fear of it reflects broad stereotypes of secrecy and distrust surrounding labour-management relationships.

The third level of contentment which employees were asked to assess related to aspects of management and organisation. The aim of this question was to gain insights into employees' expectations of employee-management relationships. Table 7.19c provides an overview of employee response to general statements about management.

Table 7.19c Employee contentment with general aspects of management and organisation at CAAF

Aspects of management and organisation	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
Management does its best to get on with employees	38	18	35	9
Management can be trusted to tell things the way they are	29	18	38	15

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

The two areas focused on were commitment and trust. Generally speaking, employee responses to these issues have produced a seemingly equal spread between those who are content and those who show discontent with the remaining balance held by those who show indifference and uncertainty. For instance, while 38 percent of respondents agreed that there was an on-going commitment by management to enhance employee-management relationships, 35 percent disagreed with this view. Likewise, while 29 percent of respondents agreed that management's assessment could be trusted, 38 percent disagreed. The levels of indifference ('neither agree nor disagree') and uncertainty ('don't know') on both counts illustrate that there is a significant gap between desired and actual trends of employee-management relationships. The general responses show that employees are not totally content with the way management conducts its roles in the workplace.

So while strained relationships between employees and management are to be expected, the particular finding that is relevant for this study is reflected in the categories of indifference and uncertainty reflected throughout the three tables that assess employee contentment. Its particular relevance to motivation lies in the extent to which partial commitment and trust in the organisational leadership becomes a sufficient driving force for sustaining a level of motivated performance. In this case the lack of absolute confidence in management which has been reflected elsewhere in this study indicates that employees will in turn not be prepared to equally commit themselves in full to the job.

10 Employee motives to work

Employee response on motives to work among these respondents illustrate the impact of employee perceptions on needs identification. Table 7.20 presents employee responses to the different needs that motivate individuals to seek work.

Table 7.20 Employee response on motives to work at CAAF

Motives to work	Extremely important %	Important %	Not important %	Extremely unimportant %	Not relevant to me %
1 I work because I need to support myself	45	32	n.a.	n.a.	23
2 I work because I need to support my family	52	36	n.a.	n.a.	12
3 I work because I need to fulfill my wider obligations	27	41	5	n.a.	27
4 I work because of family and peer pressure to be of use	14	33	18	n.a.	35
5 I work because I like group experience	20	32	21	1	26
6 I work because I can benefit from the support of my workmates	6	38	23	1	32
7 I work because it gives me a feeling of self-worth and achievement	32	47	1	n.a.	20
8 I work because I can contribute to organisational objectives	29	45	8	n.a.	18

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from CAAF Employee Survey, Fiji.

Although the difference between ‘extremely important’ and ‘important’ is a matter of degree, its use in this study was to show if there was any significant difference in the

way employees prioritised different needs. Generally speaking, there are several trends in employees' responses to this issue of needs identification. The first is reflected in the semantics of the term 'important'. Apart from a distinct indication of key primary motives of self support and group maintenance which attracted 45 percent and 52 percent of 'extremely important' ratings, all other motives to work were clustered as 'important'. The difference in emphasis between what is considered 'extremely important' and 'important' may be explained by the degree of affinity that perceived needs have with individual lifestyles.

The second relates to the progression of needs through a needs hierarchy. The classification of needs developed for this study and reflected in this question were as follows:

1 and 2 are personal needs;
3 and 4 are social needs;
5 and 6 are belonging needs, and
7 and 8 are self-actualisation needs.

Of particular interest in this study is that as one follows the frequency of ratings, the combined total of important and extremely important needs present personal and self-actualisation needs commanding higher levels than belonging and self-actualisation needs. In essence the rankings of these motives from highest to lowest according to a combined rating of importance are

88 percent who need to support the family (2);
79 percent who need self fulfilment (7);
77 percent who need to meet personal life needs (1);
73 percent who see a need to contribute to organisational goals (8),
68 percent who need to meet wider obligations (3);
52 percent who seek fulfilment from being part of a group (5);
47 percent who need to meet the demands of family and peer pressure (4), and
44 percent who need the support of their workmates (6).

So while there is an alternate pattern in the occurrence of personal and self actualisation needs(2,7,1 and 8), the same alternating trend occurs for social and love needs(3, 5, 4 and 6). The high ratings accorded to personal needs is not remarkable whereas the high degree of support given to an emphasis on self-actualisation needs as one of the top contenders is a notable feature of these findings. In terms of this study the prioritising of needs from both ends of the needs hierarchy in close proximity of each other reinforces the central argument of benevolent behaviour. So while personal needs are a primary motive driving individuals to work, the need to display broad institutional support for the formal group is equally important. The extent to which personal needs and self actualisation needs are synchronised at the level of work is clearly important in terms of production. If employees can only 'see' themselves in the big picture without any real commitment to their position in the actual job, then one would expect token motivation in terms of actually doing the 'real' job.

It is interesting to note that the three lowest rankings of important needs were also the ones that received clear indications of 'not important' ratings. While 23 percent of respondents indicated that workmate support was not an important motive to work, 21 percent did not believe that group experience was a pull factor, and 18 percent were not driven by family and peer pressure. These responses reflect inclinations towards a more individualistic lifestyle and were common among Indian respondents and younger more educated employees of all ethnic backgrounds.

Notions of irrelevance are subject to countless intervening variables. For instance, 23 percent who saw physical needs as irrelevant were employees who came from households which had more than one breadwinner and so the need to sustain oneself

was less of an individual and more of a shared responsibility. The 12 percent who saw the need to maintain family support as irrelevant were largely unmarried employees. The significant number of respondents who saw other needs as irrelevant reflect changing aspirations. This is to be expected in situations of economic change.

Conclusion

This study has shown that labour-management practices portrayed through the perceptions of management, unions and employees in the workplace have a series of potential motivational effects. The particular findings that reinforce this were seen in the interactive processes among these three interest groups, the influence of external factors on individual perception and motivation and the token recognition given to HRM practices in this workplace.

Given the importance of external pressures in shaping the structure and practices of labour-management relationships, the findings showing that the particularities of context reflected in the cultural influences shaped employee perception and attitudes to work are of particular note. The presence of a culture of benevolence was reflected in employee response to aspects of work such as control, influence, job satisfaction, and attitudes to change. The absence of a strong HRM component in this workplace with a strong preference for authoritarian styles of leadership had a number of potential effects on motivation. These were seen particularly in those responses which indicated that employees felt excluded from decision making and where initiative was stifled by authoritarian leadership styles. These responses hint at the extent to which management's ability to cultivate viable organisational responses to promoting greater employee commitment and motivation is limited by current practices. Counter-

productive practices reflected in elements of cronyism and factionalism among managers and unions in the workplace contributed to employee discontent with 'double standards' often emerging in discussion of responses.. The notable findings of partial commitment and indifference in many areas of work that are reflected throughout the responses of employees in the CAAF workplace provide ample proof that motivational problems in this workplace and productivity receive low priority in practice.

The relevance of these major findings to motivation is linked to the way the workplace as a unit of economic production, is structured to effectively manage the motivational potential of its employees. Given that productivity in quantifiable terms depends on a rational system of resource input and utilisation, the qualitative aspects of the human component requires an equally systematic approach to ensuring the existence of a sufficiently motivated workforce with a sustainable level of commitment. This is particularly the case in Fiji because the particularities of social and economic dualism in an industrialising context mean that the motivational potential of employees can only be realised if transparent and accountable frameworks are maintained alongside management thinking and practices that acknowledge the prevailing influences of local neccessities.

Chapter 8

Case Study 3: Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism

Introduction

This third case attempts to show how the motivational potential of employees is addressed through labour-management relationships in a traditional departmental structure. The presentation of findings in this case is covered in four sections. The first describes the organisational background in the context of the institutional arrangements of the Fiji Public Service and the implications these have for instituting HRM practices and motivational strategies. The second part examines a management's assessment of its role in the department and the third looks at the role of unions in the workplace. The fourth presents the findings of an employee survey on aspects of work and change in the workplace. The cross assessment of these three interests in the workplace will show that practices of labour-management relationships are influenced by the external environment and that likewise, the motivational potential of employees are shaped by the particularities of context.

Organisational background

Apart from the minor changes in policy focus that are to be expected in the public service, all developments on the organisational front are linked to the broader institutional changes of government. The nature of government departments manifesting features of a Weberian-type bureaucracy with an institutional life whose momentum is completely separate from that of its employees is more likely to be felt in the public service than in non public service agencies. The amorphous state of the government as

one's employer coupled with an administrative legacy of centralised control, reaffirms a sense of detachment for civil servants in Fiji generally. So there is a lack of direct ownership of the job and even in instances where local work targets have been achieved, principles of collective responsibility and accountability in a Westminster system tend to attribute the credit for this not to the employees directly involved but to sound management practices or even political leadership.

The organisational background of the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism is best understood when placed within the institutional framework of the public service where the functions of government administration are implemented through and controlled by the Public Service Commission. Until the mid 1990s the PSC was the employing agency for all line agencies of government with budgetary measures centrally disbursed and monitored by the Treasury. With the introduction of policies for accelerated economic growth in the post coup years, there have been instances of decentralised powers in recruitment to specific ministries like Education where provisions allow for one of the serving Public Service Commissioners to be part of major selection processes of internal recruitment. In this case the decisions pertaining to staffing matters are made at the ministerial level and no longer require a direct intervention from PSC.

In Fiji the rhetoric of civil service reform has focused on decentralisation, organisational change, HRM and financial management. Decentralising ranges from a divestiture of functions seen in corporatisation, privatisation and out-sourcing to a greater devolution of powers and control to line agencies (Forsyth, 1996:2). So for departments and ministries, staffing and financial control will be gradually replaced with procedures aimed at increased and viable performance management systems. The incremental

approach to reform means that for the public service, there is to be an increased decentralisation of powers from the PSC to all ministries in line with the introduction of accrual accounting systems. So in essence it is anticipated that the PSC will eventually be reduced to performing a secretariat function with a reduced staffing complement as recruitment functions become increasingly controlled by the respective ministries. Likewise budgets will be dispensed on a quarterly basis from the Treasury to respective agencies, and government offices will be required to operate within their stipulated guidelines.

Under this approach at the organisational level the development of corporate plans, mission statements, performance indicators and work plans become mandatory requirements as strategies for making reform achieve greater efficiency are put into place. The implications for HRM are considerable because the self-auditing requirements of performance management will require the transformation of old habits and practices of a public administrative tradition into a culture of public management. In terms of motivation this change process has implications for government employees because the capacity for greater individual performance at the departmental level, depends to a large extent on the strategic capacities of managers to provide a dynamic course for change in this transitional process. One would expect however, that a longer settling period will be inevitable before any real change in organisational performance is achieved.

Discussions with PSC personnel revealed that while HRM was perceived to be of importance, there seemed to be a lack of expertise in the area and a lack of confidence to develop organisational strategies aimed at maximising human resource potential in

the workplace. It seems likely that this indicates that the implications of change for how the workplace is managed have not been thought through. So while managers seemed quite conversant with the process of change at a macro level, they seem much less confident in discussing the impacts this is likely to have in the way in which work is actually done and the new management techniques they will need to adapt.

The Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism is one of the small departments in the Fiji Public Service and is located under the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism. The size of the Department has reduced considerably over the last two decades. The rearrangement of civil aviation has reflected broader changes of government functions. So while the Department of Civil Aviation initially undertook civil aviation responsibilities, it has over the years substantially changed in form with key operational functions of airport management now the prime task of CAAF. The current arrangement of the department's joint area of responsibilities in civil aviation and tourism was formed on the basis of common logistical interests associated with the necessity of safe air travel in the tourist industry; the latter an important foreign exchange source for Fiji.

Management at DCAT

The general management questionnaire at DCAT was completed by one of the middle level administrative officers as neither the Permanent Secretary nor the Chief Administrative Officer were available. Where necessary, other inputs from senior officers in the department were obtained through interviews to further qualify management's position. It should be noted at the outset that the brevity of this management profile is linked more to the nature of managing government business rather than to an inability to perform management tasks highlighted in the questionnaire.

In the context of Government's shift towards efficient management systems the research instrument provided important guidelines for examining the demands for increased efficiency even within the traditional bureaucratic heritage of public sector agencies.

With a staffing complement of thirty-three established and unestablished staff, the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism performs a policy advisory function in its dual fields. While senior management positions comprised a Permanent Secretary, a Chief Administrative Officer, a Director of Tourism and a Principal Administrative Officer, clerical work forms the dominant occupational categories in this workplace. Given the nature of policy development in aviation and tourism and routine processing, the presence of such occupational groupings is not remarkable.

As a predominantly administrative agency, DCAT like other government departments is subject to the same degree of centralised control. Apart from procedural accounting functions performed in the department, all matters pertaining to use of government finances are directed from the Ministry of Finance. In terms of budgetary surplus financial regulations stipulates that unspent monies be returned to the Treasury. The same source provides approval also for any proposed shifts in expenditure between line items in the departmental budget. With regard to the negotiation of an enterprise or workplace agreement, the PSC through the Industrial Relations Division would also need to grant approval prior to this taking place. While departments can recommend a change in staffing requirements, the PSC makes the final decision. So while a department like DCAT performs its mandated role, the extent of its flexibility in responding to needs in its area is restrained by excessive controls on finances and staffing.

Measuring performance in civil service agencies is notoriously difficult (Hughes, 194:209). In Fiji existing measures of performance using a system of annual confidential reports (ACR) with a bias towards inputs and an emphasis on relative assessments by a series of supervising officers have not produced any real indication of productivity. With the new focus on outcomes and more verifiable indicators that the civil service reform has initiated, all these old systems of measuring performance using a largely qualitative approach presumably become obsolete. Yet there seems to have been little real attempt to develop the indicators on which the new practices will rely for monitoring improvements or even to train managers who will need to implement the changes.

Management's response to workplace performance in DCAT reflected a conservative approach to the issue. While it was noted that 75 percent of the work budget included labour costs, it was stated that the department was overstaffed in relation to the work it handled. Suggestions of benchmarking against other departments with similar policy making functions were seen as unnecessary. The remarks of an Assistant Secretary that "this is a government department not some private sector agency, so there's no need to benchmark" (Fijian, male, 30-39 years, clerk, DCAT) seem to sum up prevailing attitudes of parochialism that often characterised managerial perceptions of accountability in the interviews conducted as part of this study.

In the absence of expertise in understanding the dynamics of performance auditing, management resorts to the use of regular staff meetings and feedback obtained through the normal chain of command in monitoring performance. In a context where age and gender determines codes of conduct and interactive processes, these standard practices

result in management hearing what it wants to hear with the views of younger and female staff in particular seldom troubling the decision making process.

Management's response to employee relations underlines this strongly autocratic style of leadership which is reflective of the broad authoritarian style of government control. For each of the given statements management was asked to 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. Table 8.1 provides a summary of management responses.

Table 8.1 Management's assessment of employee relations at DCAT

Aspects of the workplace	Level of agreement
A. Establishing a corporate ethic and workplace culture	not applicable
B. Managers would choose quality improvements over labour cost reductions	not applicable
C. Management prefer to deal directly with employees and not through unions	agree
D. Management here thinks that the award system has worked well in the past for this workplace	not applicable
E. Management here thinks that negotiating with groups of employees or their unions over pay and conditions is a better option to the award system	not applicable
F. Management here would prefer to negotiate individual contracts with each employee to set their wages and conditions	not applicable
G. Management here believe negotiating of workplace or enterprise agreement will lead to improved workplace performance	not applicable
H. This organisation currently devotes resources to HRM in this workplace	disagree
I. Unions representing employees here keep their word	agree
J. Unions here are seen by management as effectively representing members' views	disagree
K. Management here would not mind dealing with trade unions should any employee join one	not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from General Management Questionnaire and unstructured interviews in DCAT field survey, Fiji.

The extent of perceived inapplicability on a majority of items here reflects a view that if it is not part of standard practice then it is not relevant to the existing organisational scenario. So corporate ethics and quality control are perceived to be the hallmarks of the private sector, and are therefore deemed not applicable in this workplace. The extent of inapplicability over the remaining aspects which cover issues of labour-management practices illustrates a degree of resentment and dislike towards unions in the workplace. The nature of hostility towards unions in the workplace reflects the broader tensions between the union and the Government. As stakeholders controlling processes of economic production this confrontational approach impacts upon motivational strategies in that employees easily become disillusioned with the ongoing factional struggles which easily subverts the pursuit of employee interests for personal power gains among managers and union officials.

Additional ratings of irrelevance surrounding union activity both actual and potential portray the existence of different expectations between unions and management and may explain the underlying tensions in this relationship. The contentment with aspects of union work may be explained by respondent bias as middle managers who answered this were also branch officials of unions. DCAT management perceives its relationship with employees as being 'good'. Such a response is not surprising among managers because to admit otherwise would be a sign of failure and incompetence. The extent to which this may be qualified will be seen later on in the study where an employee assessment of this same relationship is ascertained through an employee survey. Apart from the routine movement of staff, organisational change in DCAT is non-existent. While this is not a remarkable feature in government departments which perform key

advisory functions, this is expected to change as rationalisation measures are put into place through reform.

Union activity in the workplace

The civil service is heavily unionised with the FPSA drawing the majority of its members from the ranks of government employees. It could be expected therefore that in this workplace the unions would have a considerable influence in shaping individual behaviour and commitment to work. Table 8.2 provides the level of union membership in DCAT.

Table 8.2 Union membership in DCAT

Name of unions operating in DCAT	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of DCAT sample
Fiji Public Service Association (FPSA)	8	36
Viti Civil Servants Association (VCSA)	1	5
Public Employees Union (PEU)	2	9
Non union	11	50

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Union Delegate Questionnaire, Fiji.

Apart from the FPSA, a multicultural union which represents employees in the ‘established’ staff category, the VCSA is a union with a strong racial bias whose membership is restricted to ethnic Fijian government employees with a specific mandate aimed at the promotion and preservation of ethnic Fijian interests in the civil service. The PEU represents workers in the ‘unestablished’ staff category and are mostly drawn from the ranks of hourly paid employees who tend to occupy the lower levels of the organisational strata.

The level of union activity here showed that while 50 percent of respondents said they are not members of any union, 50 percent are members of one of three unions operating here. While the number of FPSA members accounted for only 36 percent, the total number including those employees who did not return a questionnaire still makes it the largest union operating here. The sole respondent who said that he was a VCSA member did not feel that the racial overtures that his union is renowned for had resulted in his being victimised or excluded by fellow workers.

There are not many of us VCSA members here but I know that a lot of the Fijian workers that I work with are sympathetic with our fight but you know they are too afraid to be seen mixing with us. As far as VCSA is concerned that's okay with us because we represent the promotion of indigenous interests of Fijians working for government (Fijian, male, 30-39 years, clerk, DCAT).

While divided loyalties may be expected in a process of economic change, such a strong statement of ethnocentric attitudes must involve a low level of commitment to non or multi-ethnic organisations and in the context of this study, such attitudes may be seen as mitigating against enhancing productivity levels in the workplace.

Like FPSA representatives in CAAF, union activity in DCAT is handled by three employees who are elected by members in the workplace to perform unpaid, voluntary union work. While 50 percent of its members are female employees, approximately 40 percent are younger employees in the age category between 20 and 29 years. Clerks constitute the occupational grouping that make up the most members but none have any influence over aspects of work that involve allocation, the work process, work rate, organisation, and work hours. Despite the slight decrease in membership, it is widely recognised that union membership is not mandatory. In response to the declining membership, a new resolution that was adopted by the FPSA Council expanded recruitment roles to all union members and not just union officials in the workplace.

One FPSA member who answered the questionnaire on behalf of the union had been at DCAT for a little over five years and had also been a union official for the same period. He spent an average of two hours per week on union activities and while meetings were conducted these were often held outside working hours. Even though unions were given recognition in the workplace, the performance of duties during work hours was not encouraged and while this type of management response is to be expected, the practice of non accommodation characterises the state of centralised control.

Specific tasks that union officials handle are fairly restricted and reflect the central control of PSC and the parent FPSA body over personnel and industrial relations matters on the management and union side respectively. Union representatives in the Department were asked to identify from a given list the kinds of activities that they were involved in. The activities included the following tasks:

- Handle communications between union office and members
- Recruit members
- Handle queries about award conditions
- Handle individual grievances
- Handle equal employment opportunity issues
- Monitor and deal with OHS issues
- Handle sexual/racial harassment complaints
- Negotiate wage rises
- Negotiate about physical working conditions
- Negotiate about work practices
- Negotiate other employment conditions
- Negotiate workplace/enterprise agreement
- Participate on formal consultative committees
- Prepare newsletters/reports for members at this workplace (Union Delegate Questionnaire, DCAT survey, Fiji).

Of the tasks outlined however, only the first four tasks were handled directly by union representatives in the workplace. All other matters were handled by the FPSA secretariat who undertook all discussions with PSC. In terms of training for performing union work, the FPSA official at DCAT had only received training in union rules and structures in the last twelve months and considered himself very skilled in handling

grievances from individual employees. There are elements of trial-and-error and learning by experience assumed in the performance of union roles. Part of this may be explained by a misconception that union activity is not part of the 'real' work undertaken in the delivery of services and since it is not part of mainstream government business it is perceived as unofficial and not crucial to job performance. So it is given a low priority by both members and officials.

The implications for motivation are significant because in a highly centralised system like a government administration where direct access to the boss is not easy, the role of workers' associations becomes crucial if employee viewpoints are to have a role in decision making. Not only is personal access impossible and unheard of, but the norms regulating official conduct discourage open consultation with superiors. While this is to be expected in all bureaucracies it is more stringently applied in government departments. This being the case the union's position as an initial buffer zone for employee discontent requires that union officials be equipped with particular skills for handling multiple role conflict in a changing work environment. In this sense, not only is 'learning by experience' an inadequate process for union officials but in a work environment directed towards growth, the cultivation of a professionalised approach to the handling of employee relations reduces personalised and ad hoc practices that have often perpetuated cronyism and factionalism. Given the degree of parochial and regional loyalties which employees bring into the workplace from the wider community, this level of union complacency in the workplace works against a fuller integration of individual motivation and productive capacities.

In general, unions at DCAT perform a watchdog role for the parent body and serve as a branch conduit for filtering information to union members in the workplace. The centralised nature of FPSA means that all grievances in the workplace are guided by certain procedures. While union members are encouraged to communicate with their superiors on aspects of work, all personnel grievances that are within the provisions of the collective agreement are handled by the parent union. Given the nature of union-management relationships it is not surprising to note that the FPSA continues to be critical of the backlog in awards and claims that have not been acted upon by PSC.

Having noted the status of management and union activity, the analysis of an employee survey in this workplace that will be examined is directed at providing insights on how employee perceptions of work related issues influenced by exogenous variables can in turn impact upon the capacities of labour-management structures to utilise the motivational potential of employees.

Employees in the workplace

Of the 33 employees in this department, 22 returned the employee survey. The returns indicated that there were existing tensions between employees and management in the workplace prior to this study which may have influenced the level of support received. A particularly interesting response received from employees was the reaction from young and well educated women who saw the relevance of such a study and who also felt that it was long overdue in the Civil Service (Fijian and Indian, females, 20-29 years, clerks, DCAT). The enthusiasm of these female employees illustrate the social biases of age and gender which easily peripheralise younger women from being seriously acknowledged as important functional components of the production process.

In this instance the survey was seen as an important outlet for making their views known in a context in which they were rarely taken seriously. Table 8.3 shows the job classification of DCAT respondents.

Table 8.3 Occupational grouping of respondents at DCAT

Occupational grouping in the workplace	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of DCAT sample
Managers and administrators	2	9
Professionals	n.a.	n.a.
Para-professionals	n.a.	n.a.
Tradespersons and apprentices	n.a.	n.a.
Clerks	17	77
Salespersons and personal service workers	n.a.	n.a.
Plant and machine operators & drivers	3	14
Labourers and related workers	n.a.	n.a.

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

The high number of respondents in the category of clerks (77 percent) is to be expected in the Civil Service. It is more so in DCAT where the policy-making role requires non technical expertise to perform procedural administrative tasks and policy development in civil aviation and tourism. The two officers in the managerial category comprised the Permanent Secretary for Civil Aviation and Tourism and the Chief Administrative Officer. The latter position was not part of the established staff category at DCAT and was a post held against a PSC position that the incumbent officer had acquired prior to his transfer to the department. These were not the only senior management positions in DCAT as the Director of Tourism who also holds the position of FPSA president, was one of the eleven senior employees who did not return the employee survey questionnaire. 14 percent of respondents were employees who were designated drivers

of government vehicles allocated to the department and whose job descriptions also included messenger duties.

A Personal characteristics and socio-economic status of respondents at DCAT

The aim of finding out the personal characteristics and socio-economic status of employees was directed at examining the relationship between variables as indicators of human resource development in a situation of changing economic growth and employee perceptions towards motivation and commitment to work. The variables examined include age, ethnicity, gender, level of education, language used, marital status and household composition, health condition and caring, years at work and income earned.

1 Age

The age of respondents are shown in an aggregated form in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Age categories of respondents at DCAT

Age category	Number of respondents in each age category	Percentage of DCAT sample
20-29 years old	9	41
30-39	7	32
40-49	5	23
50 and over	1	4

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

This group showed that while 41 percent are between the ages of 20 and 29 years, about 96 percent are below the age of 50 years. The younger group between the age of 20 and 39 comprised recent university graduates and clerical officers for whom a stint at DCAT was “seen as a stepping stone to future career prospects in the Civil Service” (Fijian and Indian, males, 20-29 years, clerks, DCAT). It came as no surprise that the university graduates who were hired as graduate trainees by the Public Service Commission (PSC)

and posted to the department expressed varying degrees of frustration with “the way the system worked” (Fijians, male, 20-29 years, clerks, DCAT). That this is a common concern of younger well-educated employees in Fiji government employment was attested in discussions with this group of employees. These discussions also indicated that this had an impact on organisational behaviour in the erosion of self confidence that may have been acquired through education and training and in the reduction of individual creative potential to a level of automated work habits.

2 Ethnicity

Given Government policy one would expect that in a government office the political considerations of ethnicity would be keenly felt. The ethnic composition of the department is shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Ethnic composition of respondents at DCAT

Ethnic group	Number of respondents in each ethnic group	Percentage of DCAT sample
Fijians	16	73
Indians	5	23
Others	1	4

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
‘Others’ is an official enumerating category and includes all ethnic groups who do not fit into the category of ‘Fijians’ or ‘Indians’.
Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Although there is a higher ethnic Fijian presence in this workplace, the real composition is more balanced between Fijians and Indians. Maintaining an ethnic balance is a key determinant of filling Public Service vacancies and its existence in DCAT is part of the standard recruitment policy of government. The absence of more Indian respondents in this sample was explained by respondents in terms of my being ‘Fijian and female’. While there was no direct indication of this, the unavailability and unwillingness

of key officers to participate in particular aspects of this research did little towards removing doubts regarding ethnicity as a factor in influencing their behaviour in this regard.

Employee responses to questions of ethnicity in the workplace were interesting and provided insights into underlying tensions in the civil service. For example, while the more educated Fijian males were of the view that the merit system was a rational system, they were keen to see what they described as “a more rationalised approach to the promotion of ethnic Fijian interests everywhere” (Fijians, males, 20-39 years, clerks, DCAT). Younger Fijian female employees were more tolerant and were not hesitant in expressing their views towards ethnicity. The words of a junior officer summed it up as follows:

Ethnicity or race is okay with me. I respect them and they respect me. As long as I'm doing my job well, that's what counts. My skin colour has nothing to do with my ability to do the work. I can't stand it when people assess your work and if it is not up to standard they make side comments like, “What did you expect, he's a Fijian” or “What did you expect, he's an Indian”. Its not fair to be stuck with a racial label (Fijian, female, 20-29, clerk, DCAT).

Indian respondents of both genders were more restrictive in their responses again increasing the impression of a distrust of others outside one's own ethnic group. Generally speaking these responses show varying manifestations of ethnic tension and its emergence in the workplace illustrate that even at different levels of society ethnicity has influenced individual behaviour and inter-ethnic relationships. The potential impacts of this on motivation and HRM practices in general are broad and complex. There was little evidence at DCAT that any attempt to address the issue through a multicultural work setting was being made.

3 Gender

While the issue of gender in the workplace was influenced at ATS and CAAF by the manual and technical nature of the jobs, the administrative orientation of DCAT might be expected to produce a different gender balance. Table 8.6 shows the gender composition in this workplace.

Table 8.6 Gender composition of respondents at DCAT

Gender	Number of respondents in each gender	Percentage of DCAT sample
Males	14	64
Females	8	36

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Even in an administrative workplace like DCAT, gender disparity is apparent. Male respondents were located in all the senior administrative posts while female respondents occupied the lower clerical positions and secretarial jobs. The gender imbalance in DCAT is reflective of wider gender disparities in the Fiji Civil Service (Booth, :)and although senior officials indicated that gender is not a minimum qualification requirement of PSC vacancies, stereotypes surrounding division of labour are an underlying factor in the selection process. The comments obtained from the PSC as the central agency controlling recruitment for government jobs sums up prevailing attitudes of gender in work.

It's alright when women apply for a secretarial position but if we had men applying for the same job then it becomes tricky because while he may be qualified to do the job we have to consider the overall work culture. For example would people be prepared to accept a man doing what is perceived to be traditional women's job? We are not prepared to hire people and find that he or she is being shunned in the workplace and underutilised just because of one's gender. I can't tell you any real solution to this problem but I do know that as the implications of efficiency gains more prominence, these attitudes will in time become less significant (Fijian, male, 30-39 years, manager, PSC).

There are two issues of significance here. The first relates to personal choice and the second to a preservation of the status quo. So while the well educated and senior male officer may be an advocate of change on a personal level, the extent to which he pursues a wider reception of these same views is influenced by a broader collective interest that he sees himself a part of. The display of such a behavioural dilemma is not remarkable in this context and while there are indications of a willingness to change, the process of effecting change is influenced by external pressures. The result is that change is discussed but implemented very slowly.

The situation of gender in this workplace is a microcosm of the wider societal picture. Gender inequities here reflect stereotyping of male and female work. So while men occupy integral and decision-making positions, women are mainly employed in low paying routine jobs as they do elsewhere in the Fiji economy (ADB, 1996:34).

4 Level of education

Respondents were provided with different educational levels and asked to indicate the highest level reached. The educational level of respondents are shown in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Education level of respondents at DCAT

Highest level of education achieved	Number of respondents in each level	Percentage of DCAT sample
Primary school	n.a.	n.a.
Secondary school	14	64
Vocational and/or apprenticeships	1	4
Tertiary or equivalence	7	32

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

These responses reflect the presence of a highly educated workforce. The absence of a larger number of employees with vocational or apprentice-based training is reflective of the work requirements in government departments. If the work involves routine administration and policy development, the skills required are more generalist in nature and non technical in focus. The minimum educational requirement for entry into the civil service is a school leaving certificate acquired after four years of secondary schooling. This is the reason for the absence of employees who only received primary schooling. The 32 percent of respondents who received tertiary qualifications reflect the civil service personnel policies which focus on the development of human resources through increased education and training opportunities. This is also a reflection of the extent to which public service employment is sought after by individuals enabling high entry standards to be set. The implications for motivation in a changing public sector environment may be seen in the extent to which a highly educated workforce is may be better prepared to handle the dynamics of organisational change during the process of reform.

5 Language

As a tool of communication and as the basis upon which interactive processes in the workplace are undertaken, the language issue is particularly significant in a cultural context where the code of silence is an important determinant of social discourse. Like the ATS and CAAF workplaces, respondents here are dual language speakers. All used their mother tongue in the home but frequently used English. The use of English in conjunction with one's mother tongue is a common practice in the workplace. Fijian and Hindi are the two venacular languages and while English is the official medium bilingualism is common and to be expected.

6 Marital status and household composition

This question aimed to reveal issues in the personal lifestyles of individuals to enable consideration of the impact of cultural notions of ‘family’ on employee behaviour. Of the 22 respondents, 77 percent were married and 23 percent were unmarried. Table 8.8 presents options in living arrangements.

Table 8.8 Living arrangements of respondents at DCAT

Options in living arrangements	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of DCAT sample
Option 1 Those who live with their spouse and children only	5	23
Option 2 Those who live with their spouse and children and other relatives	12	54
Option 3 Those who live with their parents or other established living arrangements	5	23

Note : All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source :Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Fijian employees were the dominant group in the 54 percent of respondents who practised extended family living arrangements. Employees who exercised the second option and stuck to nuclear family practices were largely Indian respondents. The 11 percent who either lived in the family house or boarded with relatives were generally unmarried employees.

As was the case with ATS and CAAF respondents the existence of extended living arrangements reaffirms that even urban-based Fijians retain social practices that strengthen kinship networks. Despite having members of the extended family living with them, the average size of the households of all respondents in this workplace is 3.3. In terms of dependent children, 50 percent of respondents have no dependent children

and 50 percent have a total of twenty-five children among themselves with the average number of dependent children at 1.1. The key features then of this group are employees with small sized families. Where the extended family is part of living arrangements however, this has not greatly increased the size of households.

7 Health condition and caring functions

This question was relevant for gauging the degree of individual commitment to work in view of stereotypes that surround cultural notions of 'health'. Ninety-one percent of respondents indicated that they did not have any lasting ailment and the remaining 9 percent who indicated some form of long term illness referred to instances of stress resulting from external obligatory pressures that were not necessarily work-related but did influence their performance on the job. Cultural notions of health influence individual perceptions so while these respondents reflect a picture of healthy employees, the inherent bias in these responses is likely to mask actual health conditions. In terms of performing caring roles for a sick family member, there was no significant demand for this. Eighty-two percent of respondents said that they did not have to perform this function and 18 percent claimed to have this added responsibility.

8 Years at work

This question was necessary for seeing the link between work tenure and employee commitment. The small sample size resulted in the occurrence of extremely low frequencies of years at work over a wide time period. In order to compile a reasonable degree of analysis an aggregation of data in the categories shown in Table 8.9 was undertaken.

Table 8.9 Years of work among respondents at DCAT

Number of years worked at this workplace	Number of respondents in each category	Percentage of DCAT sample
Less than 12 months	7	32
1-5 years	12	54
6-10 years	2	9
11 years and more	1	5

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Generally speaking staff retention in this workplace is low. Although 32 percent have been with the department for less than a year, a little over half of this group have been here for up to five years while a very small number has been here beyond this time. Service provisions in the Public Service General Orders stipulate that on entering a contract of employment with Government, a public officer must be prepared to take up any posting when required to do so. The low retention rate reflected here was due to officers being transferred to other agencies. This is a markedly different situation to that revealed in the ATS and CAAF surveys. Its implications for motivation include a lower level of commitment from employees whose contract of employment especially in non specialised fields do not encourage tenure of occupancy in any one workplace.

9 Gross weekly income

While income is recognised as a work motivator its relevance here included the issue of cultural influences associated with the value of money impacting on shaping individual perceptions and work behaviour. Table 8.10 shows a breakdown of gross weekly income among respondents at this workplace.

Table 8.10 Categories of gross weekly income among respondents at DCAT

Gross weekly income (Fijian dollars)	Number of respondents per income category	Percentage of DCAT sample
Less than FJ\$100	1	5
100-299	16	72
300-499	2	9
500-699	2	9
700-899	n.a.	n.a.
900-1099	1	5

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Seventy-two percent of respondents received a gross weekly pay of between 100 and 299 dollars and an even smaller number receiving payments between 300 and just under 700 dollars. The spread of income is not remarkable as they reflect standard salary scales of administrative cadre in the civil service. In comparison to basic wage levels in the country the Fiji Public Service constitutes a category of higher paid employees. When compared with the earnings of ATS and CAAF however, it is clear that the administrative employees with no access to overtime and trade loadings are at a disadvantage.

The characteristics of respondents in this workplace portray a reasonably well educated and well paid group of employees. Like their counterparts in ATS and CAAF, common external factors that influence individual behaviour and motivation include age, ethnicity and gender. Social norms governing cultural interpretations of health and the family illustrate particular dispositions of lifestyles which suggest that commitment to work priorities incorporates an accommodation of broad social interests that extend beyond the workplace.

B Attitudes and perceptions of respondents at DCAT

Given the characteristics of employees this section of the survey examined attitudes to and perceptions of work. In doing so the impact on motivation is addressed by focusing on the extent to which labour-management practices are reflected in employees' assessment of the interrelationships among the three interest groupings in the workplace. The areas that employees were asked to assess include an overview of work, provisions on the job, options for time off, changes at work, consultative processes, job satisfaction, job contentment and motives to work.

1 Employee overview of work at DCAT

This section of the survey dealt with obtaining an employee's overview on work in general. Areas covered included perceptions of work hours and overall benefits. In terms of work hours, no individual choice was required as the thirty-seven hour work week is a legal requirement of workplaces. Responses to overtime varied between 41 percent who never work overtime and 59 percent who stated that they often did one to four hours of overtime a week. It must be noted however that while respondents may have indicated overtime, it is likely to be unpaid in accordance with PSC directives which allow for time off to be taken in lieu of payment. With regards to current arrangements of work hours, 91 percent said that they were satisfied with the present hours of work.

In terms of work benefits, 91 percent recognise their entitlements to paid holidays and sick leave which are catered for in the General Orders of the Public Service and cover established and unestablished staff. Casual loading was not an option because it is not utilised in the Public Service.

2 Employee response to provisions on the job

This question sought to show the relationship between individual expectations and the relevance of work provisions in meeting needs. The provisions were grouped in three categories labelled A, B and C under common themes. A looked at provisions of different work arrangements, B examined specific training provisions and C addressed provisions of specific benefits. Respondents were asked to indicate 'yes', 'no', 'don't know' or 'irrelevant' to each of these aspects. Table 8.11 presents the findings of employees' responses to these job provisions.

Table 8.11 Employee response to provisions on the job at DCAT

Provisions on the job	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not relevant %	Not stated %
A Different work arrangements					
Fixed contract	9	91	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Permanent part-time work	9	68	9	14	n.a.
Chance to work from home some-times	18	59	5	18	n.a.
B Specific training					
OHS training	9	64	n.a.	18	9
Job training	64	36	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Training to read and write in English	14	36	n.a.	41	9
C Specific benefits					
Maternity or paternity leave	50	5	14	31	n.a.
Childcare provisions	n.a.	59	14	27	n.a.
Use of work telephone for family reasons	45	36	5	14	n.a.
Pay rise due to age, years of service or promotion over last 12 months	27	64	9	n.a.	n.a.
Bonus and incentives linked to performance over last 12 months	18	77	n.a.	n.a.	5

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

The large number of respondents who indicated that they had no access to the different provisions of work arrangements indicates again how little flexibility is available in employment provisions under the PSC regime. Where employees do have access to unusual provisions it is usually a result of ad hoc arrangements. The level of seniority within the organisation and the particular requirements of the job seem to be determinants in allowing the use of some of these work arrangements. Respondents who said that this was an irrelevant issue were reaffirming the non existence of such practices in terms of their capacity to alter standard practices to better suit themselves or indeed the requirements of the job.

In the responses to training provisions 64 percent of respondents had received no OHS training. This is probably because the type of work involved is considered to be low risk. However this is expected to change with the recent enactment of a workplace safety bill which recognises that even “safe” jobs involve health risks. On the job training for administrative staff is common through short courses offered through the Government Training Centre and is especially relevant for employees who have just joined the department or are at the lower ranks of clerical staff. Again English language training was the subject of a great deal of hostility. While 14 percent confirmed having language training of this nature, 36 percent said they did not and 41 percent pointed to this issue as being irrelevant. It seems likely from comments by these and the ATS and CAAF respondents that part of the problem here may be the style of training offered which seems to concentrate on a classroom teaching method and a grammar based syllabus. Neither being treated as school children nor being subject to “irrelevant” information recommended these courses to adult employees.

With regards to specific benefits there were several notable features. While half of the respondents reaffirmed having access to maternity or paternity leave (50 percent), those who saw this as irrelevant (31 percent) were predominantly male employees who perceived this as an insulting question to their male integrity. As in the other surveys such responses are likely to be influenced by stereotypes of gender in which reproductive roles are perceived to be women's concerns. The absence of access to childcare provisions is to be expected as childcare practices are still very much a responsibility of the family or extended family.

In terms of the use of a work phone for family reasons while 45 percent admitted to using this facility, in practice the numbers are higher. It should be noted that the 36 percent who responded denied having access to a work phone are likely to be more guarded in their response for fear of being seen to be abusive of official privileges. Group and individual discussions indicated that the actual use of the work telephone for personal needs would be much higher than indicated here. Employee response to pay rise, bonus and incentives questions reflect controlled systems of financial remuneration which tend to be standardised in the civil service.

3 Employee response to options for time off

This question examined employee choices in options for time off if there was a need to care for a sick family member or to attend to some social or customary obligation. The provisions from which choices were made included the following:

- 1 Use my own paid sick leave
- 2 Use paid holiday leave
- 3 Take time off and make it up later
- 4 Go on leave without pay
- 5 I couldn't take time off and make it up later
- 6 Swap shifts (DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji)

Employees were required to indicate provisions they were likely to use in meeting caring and social needs. In an attempt to find out the use of options in caring, respondents were also asked to indicate the frequency of actual use over a 12 month period. From the multiple responses that employees provided, three groups formed around the most common option occurring in each group were established. Table 8.12 presents employee response to caring functions.

Table 8.12 Options for time off for caring and actual use in last 12 months among respondents at DCAT

Groups of possible options for time off for caring	Number of respondents per group	Percentage of DCAT sample	Number of times option used by respondents in last 12 months
Group 1 Those who would use all forms of provisions for taking time off	8	36	42 times
Group 2 Those who would only use paid holiday leave	4	18	3
Group 3 Those who would only take time off and make it up later	10	46	16

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

With this group of employees the popular choice involved taking time off and making it up later as illustrated by 46 percent of the respondents. The number of respondents who showed an indiscriminate inclination towards the choice of options (36 percent) reflects an element of indifference to organisational commitment. The remaining 18 percent who said that they would only use paid holiday leave for such purposes reflect a disposition that is common among employee preferences. As in the other surveys the use of paid holiday leave for purposes other than its formal intention suggests different cultural perceptions associated with the notion of paid leisure breaks as well as a lack of monitoring by management. The frequency of actual use of these options over the last 12 months showed however that there is no great abuse of work benefits. So while

employees recognise the parameters of their choices there is no apparent abuse of the system.

Having examined employee preferences for time off to undertake caring functions, the preferred options for attending to social needs are presented in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13 Options for time off required for social or customary obligations among respondents at DCAT

Groups of possible options for time off for social or customary obligations	Number of respondents per group	Percentage of DCAT sample
Group 1		
Those who would only use paid holiday leave	10	45
Group 2		
Those who would use paid holiday leave and other provisions for taking time off	6	27
Group 3		
Those who would not use either paid holiday leave or sick leave in their options for taking time off	3	14
Group 4		
Those who could not take time off for this purpose	3	14

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

For DCAT respondents the preferred option centred around paid leave. Those who would only use paid holiday leave accounted for 45 percent of respondents while 27 percent said that they would use other provisions in addition to paid leave for meeting social needs. The remaining group of respondents who would exclude paid holiday or sick leave in their choice of options (14 percent) and who did not make any choice because of an inability to take time off for this purpose (14 percent) illustrate an emerging awareness of priority setting in relation to required time on the job and time for non work related activities. A young Fijian employee who was in one of these two groups pointed out that in most cases meeting social obligations was a shared

responsibility among members of the clan. This was commonly acknowledged by other respondents who shared these sentiments:

My small father who's my father's younger brother tells me that I don't need to miss work for this kind of thing because there's a lot of village cousins who can perform my bit for me. So I don't attend but I send some money instead to help out where possible (Fijian, male, 20-29 years, clerk, DCAT).

Although individuals may not take time off for this purpose, a complete detachment from social obligations is rarely considered because the individual's interest is maintained through an encouragement of contributions in monetary terms or in kind, and the knowledge that one's interest is being represented by the presence of other family members. If this illustration implies that cultural influences impact on individual decision-making processes, then one may expect the interpretation of individual motives to be particularly challenging in a situation of dualism where multiple role behaviour have no bounds of practice and place.

4 Employee response to changes in the workplace

Obtaining employee responses to change was necessary because cultural notions of change are likely to further shape motives to change or to endorse change in the workplace. Respondents were given seven aspects of work in the questionnaire and asked to indicate whether these had 'gone up', 'gone down', or had 'no change'. Table 8.14 presents employee responses to change at work.

Table 8.14 Employee response to changes in aspects of work at DCAT

Changes in aspects of work	Gone up %	Gone down %	No change %	Don't know %
Decisions affecting you	27	5	50	18
Use of own ideas to do work	45	9	41	5
Chance to get more senior job here	23	9	41	27
Effort put into the job	77	n.a.	23	n.a.
Stress in the job	36	9	41	14
Job satisfaction	45	5	50	n.a.
Satisfaction in balance between family life and work	41	14	45	n.a.

Note: All percentages are scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Generally speaking, employee response to changes in aspects of work are clustered between situations of increased change and no change with a scattering of instances that indicate a decrease and those who were unaware as to whether any change had occurred at all. Aspects of work which received significant indications of change were those areas which involve individual respondents directly and over which they feel they have some immediate control over. For this group it focused on efforts put into the job (77 percent). While this level of self auditing and self control is not exceptional of human behaviour, this high rating of increased job effort may not be quite apparent in actual performance and/or even productivity levels.

Aspects like job satisfaction, job stress, satisfaction in the balance between family life and work, and the use of one's own ideas to do work received on average, weightings that were quite close to each other in the two categories of change indicators. While

these responses illustrated a degree of minimal individual intervention over change it highlights a sense of ambivalence towards change in general. Respondents' assessments of no change in terms of job satisfaction (50 percent) and in work decisions affecting individual employees (50 percent) are to be expected since these areas reflect the centralised nature of bureaucratic control.

5 Employee response to changes in the last twelve months

This question sought responses regarding change in a specified time frame. It covered two areas. Table 8.15a looked at employee assessment of change to pay, work hours and training received, and Table 8.15b sought an employee overview of general aspects of work. The first of these employee responses to change is presented in Table 8.15a.

Table 8.15a Employee response to changes in the last 12 months at DCAT

Changes over last 12 months	Gone up %	Gone down %	No change %
Gross weekly pay	41	14	45
Hours of work per week	14	14	73
Hours of work per day	27	9	64
Days per week of work	9	n.a.	91
Amount of training received	18	5	77

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey.

Employee response to change in the last twelve months show a clear distinction between perceived increases and no change. In fact the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated no change in the last twelve months. Legal restrictions pertaining to working arrangements and the lack of genuine implementation of initiatives of public sector reform in the workplace may explain the reasons for no change experienced in this period. Despite changes at levels over which employees have little control, there has in fact been no significant change in the workplace. The implications of this for

motivation are significant because while institutional rhetoric espousing change for economic growth is on going the translation of these policies into organisational practices is very slow. One result is that employees themselves become complacent and even antagonistic to changes taking place.

The recognised changes in weekly pay confirmed by 41 percent of respondents is in line with standard national cost of living adjustments. The 45 percent who said there was no change and the 14 percent who confirmed that weekly income had decreased are interesting responses. In fact the Personnel Officer confirmed that while there had been a national wage freeze there had been no real decrease in personal income levels over the last twelve months.

Having examined employee responses to change relating to specific aspects of work, Table 8.15b presents an assessment of overall change in the same time frame.

Table 8.15b Employee overview of changes in last twelve months

General aspects of work	Yes %	No %
Type of work you do	45	55
How you do your job	45	55
Way workplace is run	32	68
Changes over last 12 months	32	68

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey.

Employee response to change regarding work in general showed no marked difference to earlier assessments of change. The findings presented in Table 8.15b show that the responses to work type and work methods attracted similar weightings with 45 percent indicating that change had occurred, and 55 percent stating an absence of change.

Likewise the responses to the organisation of the workplace and an overall assessment of change received similar responses in that while 32 percent said there had been change, 68 percent indicated that there was none. On a general note employee response to change has not been remarkable and reflects a minimal shift from the status quo in terms of actual workplace practices. Behaviour akin to a perpetuation of traditional practices was seen in employee response to various issues and while there were minor indications of change being acknowledged, these responses showed that individual perceptions of change were influenced by the pressures of dualism as demands were made on individual time and effort.

6 Employee response to consultative processes

Having provided an assessment of change, respondents were asked to indicate the types of consultation which informed them about changes in the workplace by choosing from the following:

- 1 Supervisors discussed changes with me
- 2 Managers at a higher level discussed changes with me
- 3 Other workers told me
- 4 The union discussed changes with me
- 5 Found out through workplace notice or newsletter
- 6 Went to meetings where changes were discussed (DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji)

The responses received were aggregated into three groups were devised with the consultation type that was common to all respondents forming the basis of each group, while the fourth group specifically indicated that this question was inapplicable. Table 8.16 presents employee response to consultative processes at work.

Table 8.16 Employee response to forms of consultation about changes at DCAT

Groups of consultation types used in communicating workplace changes	Number of respondents in each group	Percentage of DCAT sample
Group 1		
Specifically 1 and to a lesser extent others	9	41
Group 2		
Specifically 2 and to a lesser extent others	3	14
Group 3		
Specifically 3 and to a lesser extent others	1	4
Group 4		
Specifically sees this issue of consultation as being inapplicable to them	9	41

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

While 41 percent saw this question as inapplicable, 59 percent gave some indication of consultative forms utilised for informing changes. The popular forms of consultation were top-down as is to be expected in bureaucracies. Respondents who said consultation was inapplicable had also indicated an absence of change at work. Together these responses may be seen as reflecting a degree of antagonism towards interactive processes that influence individual and group relationships. The absence of greater participatory forms of consultation is not remarkable given the nature of government bureaucracies.

Half of the respondents felt they were being given a fair chance in having a say about changes while the other half felt they were not. For this latter group, the main reasons given were that decisions concerning change were made by managers who were not required to consult, and that in most cases were made outside the immediate workplace. From the viewpoint of identifying motivational factors, it seems that consultation at DCAT did little to improve employee motivation and that top-down communication may well be a demotivator for these employees.

7 Employee influence on aspects of work

This question aimed at seeing the extent to which cultural notions of control impinged upon individual perceptions of influence over aspects of work. A list of five areas were given and respondents were asked to indicate the level of influence they exerted over these areas. The findings are presented in Table 8.17.

Table 8.17 Employees' assessment on degree of influence over aspects of work at DCAT

Aspects of work	A lot of influence %	Some influence %	A little influence %	No influence %
Type of work you do	64	23	4	9
How you do your work	64	23	4	9
When you start and finish work	50	27	n.a.	23
Way work-place is run	14	41	9	36
Decisions which affect you at this workplace	5	36	32	27

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Although the difference between the levels of influence is a matter of degree, it is fair to say that the majority of respondents felt they have some influence over various aspects of work in this workplace. Once again high levels of “no influence” were revealed in matters pertaining to work hours, the organisation of the workplace and decisions that affect the individual. This was due to the facts that work hours are legally enforced, central control is exerted by PSC over government agencies and the hierarchical nature of bureaucracies. The exercise of influence comes in areas directly connected with the job and so the higher the position of the respondent, the greater the degree of influence exerted.

8 Employee satisfaction with aspects of work

In this question respondents were given eight aspects of work and were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with each respective item. The relevance of levels of satisfaction is determined by the extent to which satisfaction impacts on individual behaviour. While this may be assumed as a truism in some western literature (Herzberg, 1968, Porter, 1961), it would be a mistake to assume such a causal connection in Fiji where ‘satisfaction’ is construed as much in communal as in individual terms. Table 8.18 presents the findings of employee responses to satisfaction at work.

Table 8.18 Employee response to satisfaction with aspects of work at DCAT

Aspects of work	Satisfied %	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied %	Dissatisfied %	Don't know %	Not relevant to me %
Job related training	37	4	41	4	14
OHS training received at work	14	18	23	18	27
Training to read and write in English	37	9	9	n.a.	45
Chances for more senior job here	18	n.a.	23	36	23
The way management treats workers here	37	18	18	9	18
Access to phone at work for family reasons	45	14	18	9	14
Safety and comfort of work conditions	68	18	9	n.a.	5
Overall job	77	14	9	n.a.	n.a.

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Employees’ assessment of satisfaction on all aspects showed patterns of response that indicate no overwhelming satisfaction with work. The level of satisfaction with the overall job (77 percent), work conditions (68 percent), and access to a work phone for

family reasons (45 percent) illustrate this. Aspects which received a significant rating of dissatisfaction included training received on the job (41 percent), OHS training (23 percent), promotion chances (23 percent), management's treatment of employees in the workplace (18 percent), and the use of a work phone for family reasons (18 percent). The nature of government jobs, the standardisation of occupational structures and procedures for promotions, and a general lack of recognition of personal needs as a factor in work behaviour may help to explain the reasons behind this disillusionment.

Of particular interest to this study on motivation is the cluster of opinions that indicate indifference ('neither satisfied nor dissatisfied'), uncertainty ('don't know'), and non commitment ('not relevant to me'). Respondents who showed indifference and uncertainty illustrated a level of behaviour that is aligned with maintaining the status quo, and those who saw this issue as irrelevant displayed a degree of reserve. The latter is more a product of interpretative processes in which satisfaction is assumed and not necessarily drawn out. The influence of cultural bias associated with notions of satisfaction is likely to prevent real levels of dissatisfaction emerging in a survey setting. The scattering of an unclear response in the area of satisfaction projects a preservation of collective interests at the expense of self denial and is a behavioural response that is reflective of group oriented processes in society at large.

9 Employee contentment at work

This question focused on the level of contentment that employees had with various aspects of work. The three areas in the workplace to which the issue of contentment was directed were aspects of the job, union activities and organisation and management in general. Respondents were provided with a list of statements under these three common

themes and were asked to make an assessment by choosing one of the following options: ‘agree’, ‘neither agree nor disagree’, ‘disagree’ or ‘don’t know’. The respective findings are presented in Tables 8.19a, 8.19b and 8.19c. The first category of findings which look at employee response to aspects of job content are shown in Table 8.19a.

Table 8.19a Employee response to contentment with aspects of the job at DCAT

Aspects of work	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
I get fairly paid for the job I do	41	23	36	n.a.
I do lots of different tasks in my job	55	18	23	4
I feel insecure about my future here	27	4	60	9
My job is very stressful	9	32	55	4
This is a good place to work	82	14	n.a.	4
I often think about leaving the job	14	9	59	18
I put a lot of effort into my job	91	9	n.a.	n.a.

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.
n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

Aspects which were significantly endorsed by respondents were associated with effort (91 percent), attraction to the workplace (82 percent) and to a lesser extent multi-tasking on the job (55 percent). Likewise areas with which respondents indicated disagreement included feelings of insecurity (60 percent), thoughts about leaving the job (59 percent), job stress (55 percent), and an even smaller number disagreeing with multi-tasking at work (23 percent). Elements of indifference were shown in responses to job stress (32 percent), the issue of fair pay (23 percent), multi-tasking (18 percent), and the attraction of the workplace (14 percent). These respondents together with the small number who

admitted to not knowing their level of contentment reflect aspects of partial commitment that is to be expected in a highly regulated work environment.

The second area that was examined involved an employee assessment of contentment with unions in the workplace. The findings are presented in Table 8.19b.

Table 8.19b Employee contentment with union activities at DCAT

Union roles in the workplace	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
Union here does a good job in improving members' pay and conditions	41	18	5	36
Union takes notice of members' problems and complaints	45	18	5	32
Union gives members a say in how the union operates	36	23	5	36
Unions do a good job representing members when dealing with management	36	23	5	36
Management and unions do their best to get on with one another	27	23	4	46
If I were totally free to choose, I would rather be in a union than not in one	64	9	18	9
If you want to get on at this workplace, it isn't a good idea to be in a union	23	5	54	18
Overall, I am satisfied with the service union provides to members	50	14	4	32

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey

Generally speaking, the level of employee contentment with union activity in this workplace shows a lack of support for the union. While there are numerous reasons explaining this the most prominent is the underlying ethnic tensions between the Indian-led FPSA and the nationalistic Fijian-led VCSA, both of which have members in

DCAT. The confrontational approaches of union leadership have filtered down in varying forms to the membership and while ethnic integration is upheld within reasonable bounds, the responses here show that individual employees are aware of the issues but see no real solution emanating from union intervention in the workplace. The highest number that indicated some reasonable measure of support for union activities came from 50 percent of respondents who said that they were satisfied with the service that the union provided to its members. All other aspects of union work received less than this with the remainder scattered among respondents who were either indifferent, discontented or unsure of their position. Like the earlier assessments of influence and satisfaction, one can expect cultural influences to bias responses in this area of contentment. Since the history of unions in Fiji is synonymous with a history of class tensions and ethnic rivalries, an open declaration of support or criticism of a union is avoided to protect one's interest in the workplace and beyond and partly explains the inclinations of employees to respond in the manner they have shown here.

The third area of contentment that employees were asked to assess covered aspects of organisation and management and the responses are presented in Table 8.19c.

Table 8.19c **Employee contentment with general aspects of management and organisation at DCAT**

Aspects of management and organisation	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %
Management does its best to get on with employees	54	23	14	9
Management can be trusted to tell things the way they are	23	50	18	9

Note: All percentages are approximations scaled to the nearest whole number.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

If one had thought that employee contentment with union activity at DCAT was exceptional, the overall rating of management was equally low. While 54 percent of

respondents were content with management's attempts at cultivating a harmonious relationship with employees, 23 percent were indifferent, 14 percent were discontented with this process, and 9 percent were uncertain. On the other hand when it came to developing trust in management's ability to assess a given situation, only 23 percent were content with this, 50 percent showed indifference, 18 percent disagreed and 9 percent indicated uncertainty.

In general terms, these responses show that employee confidence in management support was not high. This may explain the overall disposition of employee perception in this workplace. In view of the disillusionment with organisational leadership it was hardly surprising that in the period immediately after fieldwork, the Permanent Secretary for Civil Aviation and Tourism was the subject of a petition by DCAT employees and has since been transferred elsewhere by PSC. If there had been tensions in the workplace prior to this study, the timing of the research only served to further clarify the state of employee-management relationships.

10 Employee response on motives to work at DCAT

This question was relevant for examining the cultural influences of needs identification on the motives to work. Respondents were given eight statements that covered personal needs (1 and 2), social needs (3 and 4), belonging needs (5 and 6) and self actualisation needs (7 and 8) and all were asked to rate the degree of importance that these needs had on motives to work. Table 8.20 presents employee responses to the different needs that motivate individuals to seek work.

Table 8.20 Employee response on motives to work at DCAT

Needs-motives factors to work	Extremely important %	Important %	Not important %	Extremely unimportant %	Not relevant to me %
1 I work because I need to support myself	64	27	n.a.	n.a.	9
2 I work because I need to support my family	59	31	n.a.	n.a.	9
3 I work because I need to fulfill my wider obligations	22	50	5	9	14
4 I work because of family and peer pressure to be of use	18	59	14	n.a.	9
5 I work because I like group experience	5	45	31	5	14
6 I work because I can benefit from the support of my workmates	14	36	23	n.a.	27
7 I work because it gives me a feeling of self-worth and achievement	23	54	9	n.a.	14
8 I work because I can contribute to organisational objectives	36	45	n.a.	5	14

Note: All percentages are approximations rounded to the nearest whole number.

n.a. not applicable.

Source: Based on data collected from DCAT Employee Survey, Fiji.

In general terms the difference between ‘extremely important’ and ‘important’ in the English language is apparent but for these respondents the limitations of a linguistic certainty are compounded by the relativity of individual perceptions in a cultural context that emphasises group interests. In this sense, if one were to combine the responses of the first two categories, then one would see that personal needs (1 and 2) and self actualisation needs (7 and 8) commanded high ratings of importance to respondents

here. The combination of these two motives in this context reasserts the cultural influence of group-orientedness. So while individual concerns are catered for at a personal level, the needs of the group are built into the institutional framework at organisational level. In this case the prioritising of self actualisation needs reflects a level of organisational loyalty which the individual transfers from the value framework of one's group into the formal setting of the workplace. In the same way that the group is perceived as being the preserver and promoter of group interests, the workplace is seen as an extension of group territory whose interests need to be protected too. For this reason the high rankings of self actualisation needs serve the purpose of maintaining group support in the system.

The needs of gaining group experience and support from workmates were not considered to be sufficiently important motives for work and it may be due to the fact that among Fijian employees these kinds of support systems are already in place and would therefore not be a strong pull factor to work. Those who said that these needs were of no relevance would need to be reassessed with caution because there is an element of discretion portrayed in individual responses. Societal norms which discourage the public display or acclamation of personal feelings often result in a projection of expected rather than actual tendencies. Likewise with needs identification, numerous intervening variables mean that a rating of irrelevance does not necessarily equate with non existent needs. Given the demands of economic growth, the implications for employee motivation are even more considerable in a government department because the administrative legacy and legal constraints of the Public Service mitigates against developing a fuller integration of individual needs that are influenced by the local necessities of particular contexts.

Conclusion

Like the ATS and CAAF workplaces, the DCAT study showed that the impact of exogenous stereotypes relating to ethnicity, gender and authority structures influenced the capacities with which labour-management relationships utilise the motivational potential of employees. Having examined the perceptions of managers and union officials, employee responses to aspects of work indicated an increasing gap between organisational rhetoric and organisational practices. The departmental experience also showed that the level of partial commitment to work is more apparent in DCAT than in ATS and CAAF and has more to do with the nature of employment contract with government agencies. It also illustrates the impact that direct central control can have on structures and operational capacities of labour-management relationships.

As was the case with the other two workplaces, employee responses to options for time off to fulfil caring roles and social or customary obligations showed that commitment to work priorities are not fixed and in fact are closely aligned with shifts in cycles of economic growth. So while the industrialising state features a distinct dual economy with traditional and modern systems coexisting, one may expect particular emphasis given to the promotion of social and economic needs as important determinants underlying individual motivation.

While the question of the appropriateness of the AWIRS instrument for a traditional departmental structure may have created initial doubts in application, the results of this DCAT study has confirmed otherwise. Given the mitigating factors of hierarchy and centralised control that restrict government workplaces from effectively using strategies aimed at maximising motivational potential, the survey has been able to highlight the

inadequacies of structural arrangements and organisational practices that prevent a more effective use of HRM strategies in the workplace. The low profile which HRM is accorded in DCAT has been influenced by a tradition of top-down management styles characteristic of public administrative systems. So while HRM has had minimal operational significance in the Department, its varying degrees of emphasis in workplaces such as ATS and CAAF illustrate that there is great potential for instituting alternative strategies aimed at maximising productive capacities of human resources in any organisational form.

In terms of motivation, the DCAT study showed that while the exogenous influences of gender stereotypes, authority structures, and ethnicity are common to other workplaces like ATS and CAAF, the implications for motivation in these respective work settings indicate that as a generic concept, motivation has a capacity to be adopted into any organisational structure irrespective of sector or industry. The difference between the situations reflected in the three surveys is not the potential or need for the use of such strategies, but the impediments to their implementation created by the different organisational structures.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

While studies on work motivation and practices of motivational strategies have been dominated by the experiences of industrialised economies in the United States, Great Britain and parts of the European Union, the insights of the newly industrialised experiences of the tiger economies in the South Asian region together with their industrialised neighbours, Singapore and Japan show that the successes of replicating ‘western’ notions of motivation are determined by the particularities of context. Although the respective historical experiences have contributed significantly to knowledge in the field, the dearth of documented insights of work motivation from developing market economies and particularly small island states in the South Pacific indicates the interest for pursuing continued research in this area. Apart from the importance given to the descriptive processes of work motivation, minimal attention has been given to linking motivation to productivity in the context of policies of accelerated economic growth. Equally little attention has been paid to the impact of cultural influences on employee motivation and commitment. This latter concern has also found a niche in the state and governance debates wherein the experiences of implementing reform in developing countries has led contemporary commentators to argue that “reforms need to address the fit between organizations and environment” (Turner and Hulme, 1997:131).

This thesis examined the use and difficulties of motivational strategies as tools for enhancing productivity in economic development, with a particular focus on motivation

in the workplace of the Fiji public sector. The research interest was in response to two factors. The first was a recognition of a national problem which highlighted the increasing gap between high wages and the anticipated levels of high productivity (Chandra, 1996b:59). The second arose from a managerial perception and stereotype widely accepted in Fiji of the worker as being 'lazy' and disinclined towards the work ethics of a system of market-oriented production.

Given this situation and guided by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers' (1960) comprehensive study on industrialism, this study was motivated by a need to explore work motivation in Fiji by locating it within the framework of the nation's industrialising experience. In the Fijian context this particular experience was reflected in the experiences of a British colonialism and a form of British industrialism. The impact of these experiences have played a major role in the emergence of a culture of benevolence and an acquiescent workforce. These features have characterised Fijian workplaces with authoritarian leaders seen as acting in the 'general' interest and employees accepting a passive role. Both of these factors of benevolent management and an acquiescent workforce have mitigated against motivation for greater productivity.

The methodology for research comprised two parts. The first half of the thesis focused on locating work motivation in Fiji by undertaking a comparative survey of the literature relating to work motivational experiences in industrialised economies and developing market economies. The second part of the study which was based on case analysis examined three different organisational types with a particular emphasis on the way labour-management practices influenced employee motivation. The focus on the

workplace gave credence to the view that increased productivity becomes more viable and cost effective when attention is directed to the particularities of the component units of production at the micro level. The shift to addressing the motivational problem by developing a 'bottom up' approach rather than a 'top down' emphasis reinforced the view that an HRM approach to development provides an attractive alternative with the potential to enhance management capacities where traditional practice has fallen far short of efficiency targets in the provision and delivery of services. The research concluded that this was very likely to be the case in this study context given that the nature of benevolence with its strong people-focus is best transformed through an HRM approach to maximising motivation which can replicate this people-focus. With the primary data collected mainly through three different questionnaires and unstructured interviews, additional information obtained from unpublished documents and official papers were included in the overall analysis.

This final chapter brings together the major findings and implications drawn from the thesis. It consists of two parts. The first section presents the main findings of this thesis and the second presents the future implications for research and policy and the potential for work motivation as a strategic management tool of economic planning and development.

Main findings

As a prelude to the survey findings and the interview data, the findings of the literature survey highlighted in Chapter 5 are re-presented here in order to show the extent to which they were also evident in the findings of the Fiji study that will be discussed in

due course. The four broad findings which emerged from the literature on work motivation were as follows:

1. that the level of motivation is directly linked to the level of commitment of the workforce, which in turn is determined by the level of industrialisation;
2. that work motivation is strongly influenced by external factors and cannot be effectively managed through an exclusive emphasis on intrinsic factors;
3. that Eurocentric notions of 'rational' and 'market-oriented' behaviour in the workplace, need to be adapted to the socio-cultural particularities of developing industrialising contexts, if strategies for motivational techniques aimed at enhancing productivity in the workplace are to be effectively utilised in such contexts and
4. that in the context of a developing market economy and perhaps especially in a dual economy such as Fiji's, it is particularly important that HRM be located at the core of management thinking and practices so that its strategic potential in addressing motivational capacities is well placed in the growth of a productivity culture.

Generally speaking while the results of the study reflect generic aspects of motivation reflected in earlier studies (Maslow, 1954; McClelland, 1961; Herzberg, 1966; Bhatia, 1985), the relevance of the findings of this Fijian study are reflected in the way the particularities of context had a determining impact on employee motivation. The three broad findings evolving from the Fijian study pertain to

1. work motivation in different organisational forms,
2. work motivation in the public sector in relation to this particular research, and
3. the impact that particularities of societal context have on innovation and change.

The study reinforced the point that as a tool for enhancing employee potential, work motivation is widely used in organisations. The extent of usage and types of motivational strategies undertaken depend on the nature of the organisation and range from simple qualitative forms to fairly complex quantifiable types. In the three

organisational culture distinct from the more bureaucratic-orientedness of the Department of Civil Aviation. So while the organisational forms of ATS and CAAF were defined by their highly specialised orientations, DCAT represented an administrative agency manned largely by generalists whose subjection to centralised control was more likely to generate disincentives to work motivation.

Managers in these organisations saw motivation as being reflected through morale, absenteeism, staff turnover and achievement but had little understanding of its broader aspects. This lack of understanding made motivation the most challenging component of the organisation's human resource management practices. In many ways it is precisely this paradox of enlightenment and confusion in motivation that provides the challenge for HRM in the workplace. The experiences of labour-management practices in the three workplaces showed that while there are common rules of managing employee relations under the respective national legislation such as the Fiji Employment Act and the Trades Union Act, the interpretation and application of these laws are undertaken within the framework of particular organisational and management styles. Although all three agencies reflect authoritarian styles which are characteristic of bureaucratic structures and traditional Fijian culture, the use of additional techniques aimed at enhancing productive capacities such as the participatory strategies of joint consultative committees utilised in ATS and quality management programmes introduced in both ATS and CAAF, show that there is still room for instituting growth strategies that address and utilise motivational potential of employees.

While motivation in general may be regarded as a challenging aspect of organisational change and growth, this research has identified features of the concept which make it

central to strategic management functions. The features of motivation which give it an enigmatic quality are reflected in the following characteristics. Firstly, as seen from the studies highlighted in the early chapters and in the later case studies, motivation can only be inferred from observable behaviour and eludes direct examination because as a process its component variables are invisible. So while the outcome of certain motives may be an apparent behavioural change, the causal relationship is by no means clear.

The emphasis on observable behaviour becomes even more problematic in a context like Fiji. The main motivation theories were developed in industrialised settings in which the spoken word is assumed to capture the significance of social relations. Where the culture of silence is an important aspect of social discourse, as in Fiji, the processes of deduction and reductionism based on written or spoken responses may be futile in terms of revealing the whole meaning of any given situation. The real meaning of interactions cannot be understood without an appreciation of this particular behavioural code. In this situation motivation becomes confusing to managers who strive to utilise it as well as to observers who try to interpret the varying degrees of silence that individuals utilise in their interactive processes.

Notwithstanding this methodological difficulty there is a real challenge for managers in Fiji of learning to manage and not being overwhelmed by the culture of silence. It is worth noting that silence is not a behavioural code that is exclusive to any particular ethnic group in Fiji. Given the nature of socio-cultural existence and the experiences of colonialism imposed through a divisive policy of governance it is not remarkable that silence has become a key feature of acquiescent behaviour among all ethnic groups. Of greater significance is the recognition that the implications of silence extend beyond

motivation in the workplace and impact on the wider spectrum of change for greater economic growth in Fiji.

Secondly, motivation is highly subjective and worker's responses on questions of motive often depends on the worker's ability to accurately recall, understand, analyse and articulate the factors that have been instrumental in initiating motives for observed behaviour. In a non-native English speaking context where dual language use is a common feature of the workplace, the study has shown the limitations of language and cultural influences in the mental processes of recall and articulation. In a context in which cultural norms favour a group orientation the individualist assumptions of methods of studying motivation are an added disadvantage. This is not to say that individual enhancement is not a universal aspiration but that in Fiji, communal orientations have tended to accommodate individual pursuits in the context of group support systems. So while individual achievement may be a solo effort, this study found that the group sanctions input and performance levels along the way.

The third set of facts which make motivation simultaneously complex and central to management objectives relate to the confusion surrounding just exactly what motivation is. The psychological description of a motive-drive-behavioural outcome sequence remains the most concrete in the literature. It is, however, highly deterministic and assumes away variables such as gender, class, ethnicity and culture and may be inadequate for providing solutions to better managing human resources because of this. The inherent confusion of motivational thinking coupled with varying degrees of avoidance and acceptance behaviour reflected throughout the interactive processes of stakeholders in the workplaces examined, indicated the pressing need to effectively

integrate motivational strategies into mainstream management thinking and practices of the organisations studied.

Fourthly, the dominance of a qualitative emphasis in the early motivational studies shown by the lack of a strong scientific explanation of individual behaviour has perpetuated the view that the 'soft' approach predominant in behavioural studies mitigates against the pursuit of a more 'hard' approach to addressing HRM. So while other management functions have been more responsive to adopting quantifiable techniques and practices, developments in personnel management have moved at a slower pace. The lack of a predominant productivity culture was apparent in all three organisations. Where aspects of productivity concerns did emerge, they were scattered and poorly integrated with the overall corporate culture of the workplaces studied.

Fifthly, despite the binding nature of organisational goals, it is widely acknowledged that individuals respond differently to motivating factors. In the three workplaces studied here, employees differed in their responses to implied motivational gains that evolved from provisions such as pay, incentives and bonus schemes, options for taking time off and other special benefits. Of particular relevance to this study was the overwhelming cultural influence that shaped employee perceptions and responses. There were few examples of this being taken into account in management practices.

Despite these limitations, the need to motivate employees remained a priority concern on the agenda of those managers interviewed and surveyed in this study. While there is no clear answer to the motivational problem in the literature, there seems to be a shared

practical view of the factors managers need to take account of. Stone's list is typical in suggesting the importance of:

- identifying and understanding employee needs
- examining the range of employee behavioural choices and their respective attractiveness
- clarifying goals and performance expectations
- ensuring that rewards are closely tied to performance
- ensuring that rewards satisfy needs that are important to employees, and
- ensuring that employees perceive rewards as equitable (Stone,1995:295).

These insights obtained from Content and Process theories of work motivation were covered in Chapter 2 and show that despite the limitations surrounding the methodology of motivational research, these studies may provide practical guidelines for managers to systematically analyse tendencies of human behaviour in the workplace. So while work motivation is a common concern for organisations, and while organisational form is important where motivation is concerned, the process which motivates or demotivates employees includes factors which extend beyond the workplace. The point is that the universal language of management needs to be differentiated by notions of time and place if its application to particular workplaces is to take into account the full variety of factors impacting on employee motives..

With regards to work motivation in the public sector this study has shown that the political context of public management systems has a major and direct impact on organisational change. As governments push for economic growth greater pressure is immediately placed on public sector agencies to become more efficient. As was seen in Chapter 2, public sector experiences in the industrialised economies of Europe, Great Britain and Australia have highlighted common problems of anxiety, resentment and confusion among public sector employees as they readjust to new pressures and

expectations of reform. While this means the incorporation of improved management techniques and practices, old habits and traditions have been observed as coexisting with more accountable systems of performance management.

For employees in the Fiji public sector, the move from a protective administrative culture to a deregulated and transparent framework where much of the traditional ethics of public accountability are being slowly dismantled and where the promise of a secure job is no longer guaranteed, the impact on work motivation has been considerable. When the state's role in service provision is continually being reassessed and challenged as seen in Chapter 4, it is not remarkable that the confidence and pride with which public service jobs were initially regarded with have seriously declined. Likewise as shown in the CAAF study in Chapter 7, in statutory agencies where conditions of work reflect greater flexibility than the public service, pressures to deregulate further, have attracted resentment and feelings of dejection among employees. Here a decrease in perceived expectations of security of employment has also involved a decline in commitment to organisational goals.

Studies on work motivation in the public sector examined in selected experiences of developed market economies (Chapter 2) and developing market economies (Chapter 3) showed that while there were instances of motivational problems occurring in various public sector agencies, there was no significant difference in the form of motivation between the public sector and the private sector. For while employees may be differentiated by sector and industry, the exogenous factors crucial to motivation are present in the common cultural baggage accompanying them into the workplace. Given this fact, this study found that sectoral distinction is not a key obstacle in implementing

work motivation strategies. This was found to be so, not because motivation is a generic management concept that is applicable in both sectors, but because the crucial motivational factors arise in social as well as organisational cultures. Within the organisation the telling point will be in the particular strategies of implementation put into effect at the level of the workplace.

So while the case studies showed that sectoral distinction plays a minimal role in the implementation of motivational strategies, they highlighted the urgency of revamping public management systems to maximise employee potential. Being the first Fiji country study on work motivation, these findings may prove timely in the climate of reform in that they provide significant insights into an area of organisational dynamics that has not been the focus of previous study.

An interesting indication of this may be seen in the fact that the generally 'good and amicable' relationships between management and employees noted in studies of ATS, claimed by managers did not receive the same level of endorsement by employees themselves in all workplaces. On the one hand managers' impressions indicated tendencies of patronage based on stereotypes of leader-led frameworks and control mechanisms that have accepted and perpetuated silence and acquiescent behaviour on the part of employees. On the other hand this provided a further indication that employee commitment to work organisation and the relationships it involves is at best partial. This gap in perceptions between managers and employees seems likely to increase under deregulation. So far from predicting increases in productivity, the study indicates the possibility of serious declines in productivity if the potential impacts of deregulation on employee motivation are not addressed. Not only will changes in

management practice be required because of the nature of reform, but in the situation of a highly educated workforce with more defined expectations, managers will need to acquire specialised competencies in dealing with changing employee aspirations if motivational potential is to be directed at increased productivity.

In terms of the impact of particularities of societal context for motivation, the following five findings emerged from the studies:

- 1) that socio-cultural influences that impact on employee behaviour in Fiji are products of the experiences of a British colonialism and a form of British industrialism;
- 2) that stakeholders who control and influence systems of production in the workplace impact on management's capacity to maximise employee motivational potential;
- 3) that excessive systems of internal and external control influence individual behaviour and motivation in the workplace;
- 4) that work motivational strategies in the public sector can only be achieved if HRM assumes a strategic management position in the workplace, and
- 5) that individual motivation and behaviour is not solely or primarily determined by narrower economic rationality.

1) Socio-cultural influences that impact on employee behaviour in Fiji are products of the experience of British colonialism and a form of British industrialism.

Fiji's industrialising experience highlighted in Chapter 4 and the case studies in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 showed that while a dual economy exists with a traditional and a modern sector, the experiences of a British colonialism and a form of British industrialism have been significant forces in shaping the main cultural influences affecting work organisation and work behaviour. These influences include notions of indigenous traditions, ethnic stereotypes and the traumas of adapting to a post colonial

legacy which incorporates a post coup period focused on regaining political stability and economic recovery.

In all three service agencies examined, the impact of ethnic Fijian traditions on individual behaviour have become accepted features of employee interactive processes. Social stereotypes of gender were reflected in the traditional division of labour in which females occupied low skilled, low paid and routine jobs, while males dominated key decision making, highly paid and more challenging innovative positions in the organisation. Where men occupied less skilled jobs they tended to be in physically demanding manual areas in which higher wages were available through overtime. Indigenous experiences in an autocratic socially stratified system have meant that individual perceptions of contentment, control, influence, motives and satisfaction in the workplace were influenced by the relativity of one's position in the social order. While this is to be expected among ethnic Fijians, these traditions were also acknowledged among other ethnic groups and particularly among Indians as a way of life that constitutes an important aspect of multiculturalism.

Ethnic stereotypes were reflected in employee responses to aspects of work. While ethnic Fijian employees were influenced by communal inclinations in their overall responses to work, Indian respondents tended to closely identify with a more individualised approach to the same issues. Ethnic tensions in the broader community have spilled over into the workplace but while this is to be expected, there was no apparent display of racial intolerance in either survey responses or interviews. The use of ethnicity as a leverage for power and control among stakeholders like unions and management did not pass unnoticed among respondents but many felt that ethnicity which was once a strategic tool for maintaining control was slowly losing its credibility as a rational determinant of policy. This was true even among the ethnic group such

policies aimed to promote and protect. For younger Fijian employees the whole question of ethnic preservation has become quite vexing because of an awareness that the high degree of social stratification mitigates against equality of access to anticipated benefits accruing from racially inclined policies.

The traumas of a post colonial experience were manifested in the social psyche of individual respondents. While the notion of benevolence was seen in the nature of a docile and unassertive workforce, the submissiveness which results has been furthered by the confrontational approaches between labour and management; itself a product of a British system of managing employee relations. The residual strength of a colonial legacy which in most cases has become entrenched in institutional forms and 'official' practices indicated that dismantling structures and attitudes of a traditional public administrative culture is crucial and inevitable for the pursuit of greater efficiency in cultivating the management rather than the administration of the Fiji public sector.

The demands for accelerated economic growth in the post coup period showed that while policies for reform have received political commitment, the pace at which this has impacted on HRM practices in the workplace has been considerably slower. In the reform process, the lack of managerial competence and the indecisiveness reflected in some management styles resulted in employees being demotivated. This was particularly true where weak organisational leadership set a standard which employees copied in a cultural context where role modelling and mentoring are significant pointers for behaviour and achievement. In summary the case studies found that while rapid economic growth policies have received political endorsement at the national level, the pace at which these have been translated into an HRM component of public sector reform implemented at the organisational level has been sluggish and low profile.

2) Stakeholders who control and influence systems of production in the workplace impact on management's capacity to maximise employee potential.

In the three agencies that were examined the principal stakeholders controlling the production processes comprised management and the unions. The relationship between management and unions was neither entirely harmonious nor totally confrontational. The sensitivity of this fragile partnership was reflected in the responses of union officials and managers in the three organisations where each was not hesitant in accusing the other of being responsible for inefficiencies in the workplace. Whatever the cause, responses indicated a gap in communication and a lack of understanding of organisational co-operation and the kinds of practices that help to achieve these ends.

Even ATS, an organisation with a unique structure of partial worker-ownership was not immune to this level of antagonism between management and the union. While the overriding concern of maintaining this employee shareholding interest helped to contain and diffuse threats of explicit industrial action, the impact of implicit industrial conflict on work motivation was significant. On the other hand a management style that has become paternalistic in the protection of workers' interests, has had the tendency to stifle innovative ideas for change. Employees displayed tendencies of juvenile behaviour in dealing with management and the union, often culminating in a level of dependency on the 'big boys' for choices and direction. These immature tendencies noted as survival mechanisms where individuals in less powerful positions acquiesce in their own domination have a downside in human relations in the workplace as they tend to stifle innovative behaviour and worker initiative. While this worker acceptance of dependence is reflected in a degree of organisational loyalty it did not reflect an equivalent level of commitment to the organisation. So the survey among ATS employees showed that responses to aspects of work were shaped by cultural influences

in the larger environment rather than by acceptance of dependence within the organisation. The general lack of enthusiasm for change indicated a level of ambivalence regarding the competence of the organisation to implement reform measures fairly or efficiently.

The CAAF experience is an interesting one because this is the agency where management and union relations were the most confrontational. Much of this had to do with the FPSA's 'anti-establishment' and militant image surrounding its reputation as the largest and powerful union in Fiji's public sector. Employee responses to the relationship between management and the unions tended to be more supportive of the unions with a growing dissatisfaction with management's performance in the workplace. The implications for motivation were that as management and unions staked out their interests in the workplace, the workforce became alienated seeing itself as a pawn of organisational power struggles. The discontent with management-union relationships was made known by employees who were demoralised at the practice of double standards and favouritism.

The situation in the Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism reflected a typical departmental scenario in government. Administered through a centralised system of bureaucratic control, DCAT respondents revealed a widening gap between management and unions. It is worth noting that while the FPSA representatives had greater leverage in CAAF, a statutory body, FPSA officials in the government department were severely restricted in the kinds of union work that they performed. The varying degree of union involvement and participation has more to do with control and authority structures in the workplace than anything else.

The general lack of greater recognition by management of unions as a key player in the workplace was apparent in all three organisations. The impression obtained from

the survey was of management showing token support of union activities with no real effort at developing greater consultative processes. This type of response is characteristic of strong bureaucratic control and an autocratic leadership style and while this finding is reflective of broader tensions between the old guard and an emerging industrial leadership (Kerr et al, 1960:47), the need managers felt to be in charge of the workplace reflected the wider institutional paternalism that gains strength from being in full control. From an employee's position, the strained relationship between unions and management was demoralising because while systems of control continue to build up power blocs in the organisation, management and unions had, perhaps unwittingly, moved themselves out from the centre of employee interaction and activity in the workplace. The implication of this disorientation was amply illustrated in the incongruencies in expectations and practices that each of the interest groups have of each other. The patronising tendencies of managers and union officials in all three workplaces have encouraged a level of complacency in attitudes and practices amongst employees which in turn has cultivated conservative approaches towards required change that is demanded in the current climate of reform. Too often managers made assumptions of employee behaviour based on 'experience' and social stereotypes that were obsolete and irrelevant to the actual tendencies that employees manifest. This resulted in motivational strategies that were misdirected and incompatible with both employee preferences and changing organisational productivity needs.

3) Excessive systems of internal and external control influence individual perception and behaviour in the workplace.

Although this finding is acknowledged in motivational studies internationally, its relevance in this context lies in the particularities of employee behaviour in Fijian

workplaces. In some senses this finding may be seen as placing the convergence thesis in a divergent mode. Employee responses in the three organisations overwhelmingly indicated that external influences determined the decision making processes of individuals. This suggests a parallel flow of traditional and modern value systems co-existing in an industrialising mode. While this may be so, the cutting edge for work motivation lies in an ability to replicate old ideas in a form that accounts for the particularities of local necessities.

In the Fijian situation, control has become a key determinant for shaping individual behaviour. Interactive processes between individuals and among groups are subject to control in one form or another. Its uniqueness in this context was that the institutionalisation of control through the chiefly system, the Church, capitalist intervention, and colonial policies of ethnic compartmentalisation have over time ingrained a level of acquiescence in the social psyche of individuals. Having been exposed to these control mechanisms in the broader environment, the imposition of further controls in the workplace was therefore not an entirely new experience for employees. For managers who were unaware of the roots of this type of behaviour the challenge lies in channelling and/or transforming this opaque subservience into transparent and more productive work habits.

The general lack of enthusiasm to change or to acknowledge changes that had occurred in the three workplaces reflected a degree of contentment with existing arrangements. For an outsider, this sounds ludicrous but for individuals who have acquired the life skills of maintaining a dual mode of existence, it indicates the existence of certain features of a quality of life which are not going to be discarded overnight despite the contradictions that these have with the values of market-oriented development. In short a lack of enthusiasm implies a lack of commitment and as long as

stringent controls are being exercised with minimal appreciation of the significance of local necessities, there is little chance that employees would be experiencing renewed surges of motivation and commitment to work.

The study showed that the “common” exogenous influences such as gender stereotypes and authority structures had been institutionalised as behavioural norms deemed appropriate for maintaining control in the workplace. While these external influences show varying degrees of impact on individual behaviour in the different workplaces, the responses of employees in general show that there is an expectation of exemplary behaviour and firm leadership from those who exercise control. Double standards, cronyism and favouritism easily demotivate employees and quickly build up feelings of resentment towards the organisational leadership, but are also expected as part of the authoritarian tradition.

4) Work motivational strategies can only be successful in the public sector if HRM assumes a strategic position in the management of the workplace.

This study found that token recognition and a non-strategic status afforded HRM in the three organisations worked against an effective implementation of motivational strategies. This was found to be a particular product of the inflexibility and stringent controls of the public sector. This mitigated against the achievement of public sector employees’ primary functions of services provision in that it reduced motivation to do the job.

The status of HRM in the three organisations varied. In the ATS workplace where HRM occupied an active portfolio under Personnel, there were indications that despite the presence of a strong Board and a centrally controlled management system, the established rapport between the senior Personnel Manager and other line managers

played a key role in cultivating management support for HRM initiatives. CAAF on the other hand displayed a more conservative approach to HRM which was partially reflected in the divisional title of Management Services where personnel functions were located. So while organisational rhetoric espoused the importance of HRM, organisational practices in CAAF accorded it a low profile isolated from and supportive of strategic functions. In the Department of Civil Aviation, the HRM emphasis was quite minimal to the point that it was considered by management to be inapplicable in a government workplace.

The token recognition given to HRM emanates from the legacy of a centralised public personnel administrative culture and the stereotypes associated with aggressive business practices which have led to the belief that HRM belongs in the private sector. It was interesting to note that while the concept of HRM was acknowledged as the tool for increasing employee productivity, one got a distinct impression that there was a dearth of HRM competence among middle managers in the workplace. Given the lack of substantial HRM expertise in the public sector it was not remarkable that work motivational strategies faced difficulties in being implemented efficiently. In instances where there were flashes of HRM initiatives that had the potential to evolve into viable productivity-enhancing strategies, the lack of professionalism and expertise to sustain the initial momentum were crucial mitigating factors. With public sector reform underway this may be expected to change through the introduction of human resource development strategies to train managers as an integral component of national manpower planning strategies.

5) Individual motivation and behaviour is not solely or primarily determined by narrow economic rationality.

Broadly speaking, the culture of benevolence noted as dominant in Fiji has a human essence which has come to be accepted as an important aspect of a way of life. This human emphasis was reflected in the cultural influences that pervaded employee response and motives underlying certain behavioural tendencies. So the strong leanings in employee responses to socio-cultural aspects of work illustrated that in the Fijian context the economic motive is not necessarily the primary determinant of employee behaviour. In this case both social and economic factors are equally valued by employees as each fulfils a particular set of needs in a context of economic dualism.

On the other hand while managers displayed a recognition of the importance of the human resource as a crucial component of the production process, they also supported increased rationalisation of work practices. The general response by management to the human aspect of economic growth was, however, constrained by bureaucratic straitjackets. So for instance the top-down approach to addressing employee relations illustrated entrenched views in management thinking and practices and an unwillingness to change. The impression that one got from managers in the workplaces studied was that while the human approach to management was considered important, there was a lack of a fuller appreciation of the urgency in upgrading the current low priority status of HRM into more strategic levels of management.

Unions on the other hand continued to enjoy sizeable support because the activities surrounding union functions in the workplace are quite people-oriented. The nature of this people-focus has several implications. While it created a tendency to handle employee-related issues with remedies that portrayed patronage and cronyism, it diverted attention away from the real need to pursue and develop more professionalised

techniques to the handling of employee relations at work. The lack of specific training for the handling of union duties in the workplace showed that the assumptions of a human oriented focus are often misunderstood and associated with 'learning by experience'.

Employee response to aspects of work in ATS, CAAF and DCAT showed that while economic incentives are acknowledged as fulfilling basic needs, the cultural influences that further shape attitudes and motivation to work and illustrate important components of employee behaviour, were not addressed by the standard personnel routine. This study has shown that amidst the industrialising process that Fiji is undergoing the human aspect of growth is a potentially significant motivating factor in cultivating greater commitment to economic development. In short the Fijian experience illustrates that productivity for greater economic growth must incorporate strategies that acknowledge the essence and significance of the 'human' factor. Employee responses indicated money was not the sole determinant of motivation in the workplace. In order to strike a more even balance between an economic emphasis and a socio-cultural emphasis, there is a need to understand at the outset that in a context of social and economic dualism, the support systems which prop up economic growth are human systems which have significant potential in the mobilisation or withdrawal of commitment to growth efforts.

Future implications

This section discusses the implications of the study for future research and policy. It also discusses the potential for motivational strategies as a strategic management tool for economic growth given the emphasis on efficient public management and greater accountability.

Implications for future research and policy

In summing up the conclusions of this study, the implications for future research and policy are significant and while this research has only touched the tip of the iceberg, its significance lies in the potential for bringing about viable motivational strategies aimed at increased productivity. Given the particularities of the Fijian context, there is tremendous scope for work motivational strategies to be utilised more successfully. This study has found that this will only be possible if stakeholders continually make the necessary adjustments to their management practices which focus attention both on productivity in the workplace and on the local factors which determine employee attitudes to work.

Like all sound policies, successful implementation occurs when the basis of such policy is drawn from a reliable database which has been systematically derived from sound research. The framework of the AWIRS used in this study showed that there is great potential and relevance for developing a similar national database for Fijian workplaces. Like the AWIRS, the Fijian version of such a national workplace survey would provide a good basis for developing secondary areas of interest that allow further research into the field. This may prove particularly important for addressing issues of motivation because an understanding of the kinds of internal and external influences that impact on individual motivation is better operationalised when it is viewed within the framework of labour-management relationships.

Given the dynamics of organisational behaviour and the fluidity of human behavioural processes, the importance of motivation requires a multidisciplinary approach inclined towards a proactive emphasis in addressing motivational needs. This is particularly so in

a dualistic context like Fiji where the nature of an industrialising workforce projects particularities of specific lifestyles that provide insights into the temporal requirements of local situations. In addition a multidisciplinary approach assists in a better comprehension of the relationship that exists between motivation, productivity and economic development. When placed within this framework, motivation assumes a level of tangibility, relevance and viability rather than simply being part of the rhetoric of reform. A necessary step in addressing motivation is an increased status for HRM practices and a ready acceptance that it has the potential to perform a strategic function in the change process. This in turn will require an increased level of managerial competence so that organisational leaders have the confidence to put human resource based motivational strategies into place.

The potential for extending work motivational studies to the rest of the South Pacific region and indeed for undertaking comparative studies is considerable. Given the common heritage of small island states, enhancing the capacities of human resources is also an important component of public sector reform in readjustment policies throughout the region. Although this study adopted a micro focus looking at motivational factors in particular organisational contexts in the Fiji public sector, the approach used in this study holds significant relevance for public sectors elsewhere in the South Pacific region. The study found the need for a strategic recognition of HRM and a fuller endorsement of its potential as a key tool of management planning and development to dismantle old structures and old habits in a manner which while still retaining a popular-approach appeal, exudes a level of professionalism which has the potential to lead to new and innovative levels of organisational growth. This implies a need to retrain managers in the area of HRM and to develop on-going training for

employees to understand the implications that low motivation can have on productivity levels in the workplace and in turn the implications of low productivity for achieving increased social and material living standards.

Future of work motivational strategies

This study has been both conceptual and empirical. Its contribution to an understanding of work motivational needs in the context of an industrialising economy lies in the notion that an HRM approach to development and the integration of the HRM role into strategic organisational functions can lay the basis for a more increased organisational productivity. In the particularities of a context of social and economic dualism such as Fiji's, 'traditions' like any other aspect of society are subject to change. So while this study examined the extent to which labour-management systems addressed the motivational potential of employees through a deductive process based on the responses of the employee survey, it also reinforced the importance of instituting a level of professionalism and scientific analysis on an aspect of organisation that is often addressed in practice through a series of 'trial and error' applications that tend to be ad hoc and poorly integrated with other organisational practices. If it is understood that the particularities of the Fijian context create a situation in which potential commitment and actual divided loyalties constitute two sides of the same coin, then the ironies of dualism that pervade employee behaviour and motivation in Fijian workplaces can be better managed and effectively addressed for achieving productivity at the level of the workplace with overall impacts for growth in the broader economy.

Appendix 5.1: Sample of the Employee Survey Questionnaire used in the Fiji study
(adapted from AWIRS)

Workplace ID
|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

CONFIDENTIAL

EMPLOYEE SURVEY

1. Sex :
Male ☐
Female ☐
2. Ethnicity :
Fijian ☐
Indian ☐
Other ☐ Specify _____
3. Age :
4. Province : _____
5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed including those that you completed overseas?

Tick one box only

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Primary School | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Some secondary school including up to Form 4 or Form 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Completed secondary school leaving certificate (F6 or FSLC)/ matriculation (F7) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Basic vocational qualifications (pre-vocational certificates, other certificates) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Skilled vocational qualifications (trade certificates, apprenticeships) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Associate diploma, advanced certificate (1-2 years of full-time study or equivalent) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Undergraduate degree or diploma (3 years full-time study or equivalent) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Postgraduate degree or diploma | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other - give details | |
-

6. What language do you usually speak at home?
- English ☐
- Other ☐
- Specify other language(s) _____
7. Which language do you usually speak at work?
- English ☐
- Other ☐
- Specify other language(s) _____
8. Do you have dependent children? By dependent children I mean children that you have to care for. Write the number of dependent children that you have in each age group.
- No, I don't have any dependent children ☐ Go to 9
- Dependent children aged 0 to 4 years ☐ Number
- Dependent children aged 5 to 12 years ☐ Number
- Dependent children aged 13 years or over ☐ Number
9. Do you have any other family members including aged, disabled or long term sick family members that you have to care for
- Yes ☐
- No ☐
10. Do you have a health condition or a disability which is likely to last for more than 6 months? Do not include conditions or disabilities which can be overcome, for example by wearing glasses or contact lenses.
- Yes ☐
- No ☐
- Don't know ☐
11. How long have you worked at this work-place? By workplace I mean this site only. Answer only in total years. If you have worked at this workplace for less than one year, write 0.
- years
12. How many hours per week (including overtime or extra hours do you usually work in this job?
- Hours per week
13. How many hours per week of overtime or extra hours do you usually work on this job?
- If you don't usually work overtime or extra hours, write 0.
- Hours per week

14. In total, are you happy working the hours you do at this workplace?
- I'm happy with my hours ☐
- I'd prefer to work less hours ☐
- I'd prefer to work more hours ☐
15. In this job do you get any of the following?
- If you have worked here less than 12 months think about what you would get if you were here for 12 months or more
- | | Yes | No | Don't know |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Paid holidays | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Paid sick leave | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A casual loading | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
16. Are you on a fixed term contract in this job? That is, a contract that ends on a particular date.
- Yes ☐
- No ☐
- Don't know ☐
17. Has your employer provided you with any of the following training over the last 12 months?
- Include any training which is provided or paid for by your employer, whether you did it at this workplace or somewhere else.
- | | Yes | No | Don't know | Not relevant to me |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Training to help you do your job | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Training in occupational health and safety | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Training to read or write English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
18. If you needed any of the following, would you be able to get them at this workplace?
- | | Yes | No | Don't know | Not relevant to me |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Permanent part-time work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maternity or paternity leave | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Child care paid partly or wholly by your employer | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A phone at work to use for family reasons | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| The chance to work from home sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. If you needed to take some time off work to care for a sick family member, how would you usually do it?

Tick all that apply.

Use my own paid sick leave	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Use paid holiday leave		<input type="checkbox"/>
Take time off and make it up later	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Go on leave without pay	<input type="checkbox"/>	
I couldn't take any time off	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Other - give details	<input type="checkbox"/>	

20. If you needed to take some time off work to fulfil customary obligations, how would you usually do it?

Tick all that apply.

Use my own paid sick leave	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Use paid holiday leave		<input type="checkbox"/>
Take time off and make it up later	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Go on leave without pay	<input type="checkbox"/>	
I couldn't take any time off	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Other - Give details	<input type="checkbox"/>	

21. Have you got any of the following at this workplace over the last 12 months?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
A pay rise because of age	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
length of service or promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bonuses and incentives related	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to your job performance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Have any of the following changed over the last 12 months?

If you have worked here for less than 12 months answer the questions thinking of the time that you have worked here.

	Gone Up	Gone Down	No Change	Don't Know
Your say in decisions which affect up	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How much you can use your own ideas on how you do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your chances to get a more senior job in this organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The effort you have to put into your job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The stress you have in your job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The satisfaction with your job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your satisfaction with the	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

balance between your family
and work life

23. Have any of the following changed over the last 12 months?

	Gone Up	Gone Down	No Change	Don't Know
Your total weekly pay (before tax and other deductions are taken out)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The hours per week you usually work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The hours per day you usually work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The number of days per week you usually work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The amount of training you get	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. Have any of the following changed over the last 12 months?

	Yes	No	Don't know
The type of work you do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How you do your job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The way the workplace is run	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Have there been any other changes here over the last 12 months?

No ☐
Yes ☐ - Give details

26. Were you consulted by managers here about any of the changes that have happened at this workplace over the last 12 months?

If you have worked here for less than 12 months answer the question thinking of the time that you have worked here.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to next question
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to 28
I'm not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to 28
There were no change	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to 31

27. How were you consulted about the changes that have happened at this workplace over the last 12 months?

Tick all that apply.

Supervisors discussed changes with me	<input type="checkbox"/>
Managers at a higher level discussed changes with me	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other workers told me	<input type="checkbox"/>

The union discussed changes with me ☐

I found out through a workplace notice
or a newsletter ☐

I went to meetings where changes were
discussed ☐

Some other way - Give details ☐

28. Do you think you were given a fair chance to have a say about the changes that have happened at this workplace over the last 12 months?

Yes ☐ Go to 30
No ☐ Go to next question

29. Why do you think you were not given a fair chance to have a say about changes? Tick all that apply.

Decisions are made by managers -
employees don't get a say ☐

Decisions are made outside this
workplace, by people at a higher
level in the organisation ☐

Discussions were only between
management and unions ☐

I'm a part-time or casual employee
I didn't have a chance to be
involved ☐

Meetings were held at a time when
I couldn't go ☐

Managers don't really "consult" -
what I say doesn't seem to matter ☐

Other - Give details ☐

30. Thinking about all the changes that have happened here, do you think you are generally better off or worse off now, than you were 12 months ago? If you have worked here for less than 12 months answer the question thinking of the time that you have worked here.

Better off ☐
Worse off ☐
About the same ☐
Don't know ☐

31. In general, how much influence or input do you have about the following?

	A lot	Some	A little	None	Not applicable
The type of work you do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How you do your work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

When you start and finish work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The way the work place is run	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decisions which affect you at this workplace	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32. Do you agree or disagree with the following sentence?

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Don't know
I get paid fairly for the things I do in my job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I do lots of different tasks in my job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel insecure about my future here	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My job is very stressful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This is a good place to work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often think about leaving this job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I put a lot of effort into my job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. Are you satisfied with the following aspects of your job?

	Satisfied	Neither Satisfied nor distfd	Distfd	Dont know	Not relevant to me
The job related training you get at this workplace	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The occupational health and safety training you get at this workplace	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The training to read or write English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The chances you have to get a more senior job in this organisation.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The way management treat you and others here	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That you can use a phone at work for	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

family reasons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The safety and comfort					
of the conditions that					
you work in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your job overall	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. Have you suffered an injury or illness related to your work over the last 12 months? (not colds or flu)

If you have worked here for less than 12 months answer the question thinking of the time that you have worked here.

Yes ☐ Go to next question

No ☐ Go to 38

35. What injury/illness resulted from your most recent accident or incident at work? Tick all that apply.

Fracture ☐

Dislocation, sprain, strain ☐

Open wound ☐

Bruising, crushing ☐

Burns, scalding ☐

Eye injury ☐

Stress ☐

Other (e.g. deafness, poisoning,

skin irritation, allergy) ☐

Give details

36. How many days did you take off work following the most recent incident? If none write 0.

☐ days

37. Did you receive any worker's compensation for this illness or injury?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't know ☐

38. Have you ever been a member of a union at this work place?

Yes ☐ Go to next question

No ☐ Go to 45

39. Are you still a member of a union at this workplace?

Yes ☐ Go to next question

No ☐ Go to 44

I'm not sure ☐ Go to 44

40. Do you have to be a member of a union to do this job?

Yes ☐

No ☐

I'm not sure ☐

41. What is the name of the union that you belong to at this workplace?

Name of union _____

42. Are you a shop steward or union delegate in this workplace?

Yes ☐

No ☐

43. How often have you been to union meetings, including meetings held here or elsewhere in the last 12 months?

I have been to most or all of the meetings held ☐

I have been to some of the meetings held ☐

I have not been to any of the meetings held ☐

I don't know of any meetings have been held ☐

No meetings have been held ☐

44. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the unions at this workplace?

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Dont know
Unions here do a good job in improving members' pay and conditions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unions here take notice of members' problems and complaints	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unions here give members a say in how the union operates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unions here do a good job representing members when dealing with management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Management and unions at this workplace do their best to get on with each other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Overall, I am satisfied with the service unions here provide to members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about this workplace?

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Dont know
Management at this workplace does its best to get on with employees	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Management at this workplace can be trusted to tell things the way they are	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I were totally free to choose, I would rather be in a union than not in one	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you want to get on at this workplace, it isn't a good idea to be in a union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. Please tick the occupational group which is closest to describing the kind of job you currently do at this workplace.

Labourers and related workers	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plant and machine operators and drivers	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sales and personal service workers	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clerks	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tradespersons and apprentices	<input type="checkbox"/>
Para-professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>
Professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>
Managers	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others, give details	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. What is your job title? For example, clerk/typist, machine operator.
For public servants write down your classification as well as your occupation.
-

48. What are the main tasks that you do in this job? For example, typing, wordprocessing and filing correspondence, operating baggage handling conveyor system.
Describe as fully as possible.
For managers, state main activities controlled.
-
-

49. Please rank the following statements according to the degree of importance that you think these reflect your motivation to work.

- 1 Extremely important
- 2 Important
- 3 Not important
- 4 Extremely unimportant
- 5 Not relevant to me

- I work because I need to support myself ☐
- I work because I need to support my family ☐
- I work because I need to fulfil my wider obligations ☐
- I work because my family and friends expect me to do something useful with my life. ☐
- I work because I like the experience of being part of a group ☐
- I work because I can benefit from the support of my workmates. ☐
- I work because it gives me a feeling of self-worth and achievement. ☐
- I work because I feel that I have the potential skills and knowledge to contribute to organisational objectives. ☐

50. How much do you get paid at this workplace **before tax and other deductions are taken out?**

If your before tax pay changes from week to week because of overtime, or because you work different hours each week, think about what you earn on average.

PAY PER WEEK BEFORE TAX

PAY PER YEAR BEFORE TAX

Less than \$100 per week	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	(less than \$5,199 per year)
\$100-\$149 per week	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$5,200-\$7,799 per year)
\$150-\$199 per week	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$7,800-\$10,399 per year)
\$200-\$249 per week	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$10,400-\$12,999 per year)
\$250-\$299 per week	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$13,000-\$15,599 per year)
\$300-\$349 per week	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$15,600-\$18,199 per year)
\$350-\$399 per week	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$18,200-\$20,799 per year)
\$400-\$449 per week	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$20,800-\$23,399 per year)
\$450-\$499 per week	9	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$23,400-\$25,999 per year)
\$500-\$549 per week	10	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$26,000-\$28,599 per year)
\$550-\$599 per week	11	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$28,600-\$31,199 per year)
\$600-\$649 per week	12	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$31,200-\$33,799 per year)
\$650-\$699 per week	13	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$33,800-\$36,399 per year)
\$700-\$749 per week	14	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$36,400-\$38,999 per year)
\$750-\$799 per week	15	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$39,000-\$41,599 per year)
\$800-\$849 per week	16	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$41,600-\$44,199 per year)

\$850-\$899 per week	17	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$44,200-\$46,799 per year)
\$900-\$949 per week	18	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$46,800-\$49,399 per year)
\$950-\$999 per week	19	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$49,400-\$51,999 per year)
\$1000-\$1049 per week	20	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$52,000-\$5,4599 per year)
\$1050-\$1099 per week	21	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$54,600-\$57,199 per year)
\$1100-\$1149 per week	22	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$57,200-\$59,799 per year)
\$1150 or more per week	23	<input type="checkbox"/>	(\$59,800 or more per year)

51. Do you have any comments you would like to make about this questionnaire or this workplace?

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

DEFINITIONS

for Question 46

Note: Include first line supervisors in the same group as the employees that they supervise.

Managers and administrators head government, industrial agricultural commercial and other establishments, organisations or departments within such organizations. They determine policy, direct and co-ordinate functions, often through a hierarchy of subordinate managers and supervisors. Occupations included are: general managers, sales managers, farm managers, catering managers and bank managers.

This group DOES NOT include supervisors/overseers etc. These employees should be grouped within their skill base i.e. an office manager supervising clerks would be grouped with the clerks. A fitter and turner acting as a supervisor would be grouped with tradespeople.

Professionals perform analytical, conceptual and creative tasks and require a high level of intellectual ability and a thorough understanding of an extensive body of theoretical knowledge. They research, develop, design, advise, teach and communicate in their specialist fields.

The specialist fields include: science, building and engineering, health, social sciences and arts, Occupations include professionals in the above fields, teachers, business professionals, journalists, graphic designers and actors.

Para-professionals perform complex technical tasks requiring the understanding of a body of theoretical knowledge and significant practical skills. Technicians in medical, scientific, engineering, building, entertainment and transport industries are included in this group. This occupational group includes registered nurses, aircraft pilots and police officers.

Tradespersons perform complex physical tasks applying a body of trade specific technical knowledge requiring initiative, manual dexterity and other practical skills. Trades in metal fitting and machining, electrical and electronics, building, printing, vehicle production, food preparation, horticulture, hairdressing and other recognised apprenticeship trades are included in this group. Trade apprentices and Trainees are also to be included in this group.

Clerks gather, record, order, transform, store and transmit information on paper or electronic media and require moderate literacy and numeracy skills. The main occupations covered in this group included typists and stenographers; data processing and business machine operators; accounting, insurance and broking clerks; filing and mail clerks; production and transport clerks; and receptionists, secretaries, telephonists and messengers.

Sales persons and personal service workers sell products and service to the business

community and individuals, and/or provide personal services. Occupations covered in this group include investment, insurance and real estate sales persons; sales representatives; sales assistants; cashiers; dental nurses; enrolled nurses; travel stewards; beauticians and childcare workers.

Plant and machine operators and drivers operate vehicles and other large equipment to transport passengers and goods, move materials, generate power and perform various agricultural and manufacturing functions. Some of the occupations covered include bus, truck and locomotive drivers; excavator, forklift and tractor drivers; boiler, chemical plant, crane and furnace operators as well as machinists (including metal press or casting operators, sewing machinists, yarn or fabric manufacturing machine operators and food processing machine operators).

Labours and related workers perform routine tasks, either manually or using hand tools and appliances. This occupational group includes such occupations as factory hands; agricultural labourers; cleaners; construction and mining labourers; store women/men, caretakers, kitchenhands, and security officers.

Sample of the General Management
Questionnaire used in Fiji study.
(adapted from AWIRS)

GENERAL MANAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

WORKPLACE ID

1 Do any unions have members here?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(Refer to 3)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(Refer to 2)

2 RECORD NU ON INTERVIEW GUIDE AND SKIP 3.

3 Could you tell me the name of each union starting with the one that has the most members at this? workplace

(FULL NAME OF EACH UNION REQUIRED)

Largest	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2nd	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3rd	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
4th	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
5th	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

(ARRANGE INTERVIEW WITH MOST SENIOR DELEGATE OF LARGEST UNION)

(RECORD DETAIL ON CONTACT SHEET)

INTERVIEW DETAILS

INTERVIEW LENGTH

End Time	<input type="text"/>
Start Time	<input type="text"/>
Length (in minutes)	<input type="text"/>

DATE 1996

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

A.1 During this interview, I will be using the term 'workplace' which in this case means (READ OUT

ADDRESS OF WORKPLACE)

A.2 How long have you been employed at this workplace?

Less than one year	<input type="text"/>	1
One to less than 2 years	<input type="text"/>	2
2 to less than 5 years	<input type="text"/>	3
5 to less than 10 years	<input type="text"/>	4
10 years or more	<input type="text"/>	5

A.3 Are you the most senior manager at this workplace?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(Refer to A.5)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	

A.4 As a manager, is your major job responsibility employee relations?

PROMPT: Employee realations is often known as industrial relations, human resource management or personnel management. The term broadly covers the management of employees and where there are unions, the relationship between unions and management.

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

A.5 Which one of these catagories best describes the status of this workplace?

PROMPT: Private sector organisation includes private companies, companies listed on the stk exchange, partnership, trusts, frachises. It does not include non profit organisations such as charities, churches and welfare bodies.

PROMPT: Commercial means workplaces which undertake activity for the purposes of making a profit. It does not include workplaces which, inthe course of providing a public service, may happen to make a surplus (eg. local councils, public trustees).

Private sector organisation	<input type="text"/>
Government business enterprise/commercial statutory authority	<input type="text"/>
Non commercial statutory authority	<input type="text"/>
Public service department	<input type="text"/>
Other non commercial (Specify)	<input type="text"/>

Other commercial (Specify)	<input type="text"/>
----------------------------	----------------------

A.6 RECORD THE FOLLOWING ON INTERVIEW GUIDE

IF 1, 2 OR 7 IN A.5, THEN WORKPLACE IS COMMERCIAL (C)

IF 3, 4, 5 OR 6 IN A.5, THEN WORKPLACE IS NON COMMERCIAL (NC)

A.7 CHECK A.5

WAS CODE 1 CIRCLED IN A.5?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(Refer to A.8)
NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	Refer to A.9)

A.8 Do the principal owners of this workplace work here?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

A.9 Is this workplace owned or controlled by another workplace in this organisation?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

A.10 Does this workplace own or control any other workplace in this organisation?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

A.11 **CHECK A.9 AND A.10**
WAS CODE 2 CIRCLED IN BOTH A.9 AND A.10?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(Refer to A.12)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(Refer to A.13)

A.12 So, can I just check: this workplace is an independent organisation in its own right, and is not part of a large entity such as company, or a governemt department authority?

Yes, our workplace is the only one in this organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>
No, wrong, our workplace is one of a number of workplace in this organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>

A.13 **RECORD M OR S ON THE INTERVIEW GUIDE**

THERE IS MORE THAN ONE WORKPLACE IN THE ORGANISATION
(CODE 1 IS CIRCLED AT A.9 OR A.10 OR 2 IS CIRCLED AT A.12)

THIS IS THE ONLY WORKPLACE IN THE ORGANISATION (CODE 2 IS CIRCLED AT A.9 AND A.10 AND 1 IS CIRCLED AT A.12)

A.14 **CHECK A.5**

WAS CODE 1 CIRCLED? IN A.5?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

(Refer to SECTION B)

A.15 Has this workplace had change of ownership in the last two years?

PROMPT: For publicallylisted companies change of ownership means change in effective control.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(Refer to SECTION B)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	

A.16 Has this change of ownership had any significant effect on the following:

(READ OUT EACH TURN)

	Yes		No
The type of product or services	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>
The way work is done	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>
The management structure	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>
The way pay and conditions are determined here	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>
The number of employees	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>
Management's approach to employee relations	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>

SECTION B: WORKPLACE CHARACTERISTICS

I now want to ask you some questions about the charactersitics of this workplace.

B.1 How many employees are on the payroll and currently working at or from this workplace?

You should include any casual or part time employees but not contractors, agency workers or outworkers.

Number:

B.2 **OCCUPATION CARD**

(HAND OUT OCCUPATION CARD TO RESPONDENT)

Looking forward at this card (PAUSE), which occupation groups have employees in them at this workplace?

(ACCEPT MULPTIPLES)

Managers	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Para-professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Tradesperson	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Clerks	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Sales and personal service workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Plant and machine operators	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Labourers and unskilled workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	8

B.3 **CODE OCCUPATION GROUPS PRESENT ON CARD**

USE THIS INFORMATION WHEN ASKING OTHER OCCUPATION QUESTIONS.

B.4 **OCCUPATION CARD**

What is the largest group at this workplace?

Managers	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Para-professionals	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Tradespersons	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Clerks	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Sales and personal services workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Plant and machine operators and drivers	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Labourers and unskilled workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	8

B.5 **RECORD THE NAME OF THE LARGEST OCCUPATION GROUP ON THE INTERVIEW GUIDE**

B.6 What is the main type of activity of this workplace, in other words what does it make or do?

(PROBE FULLY)

PROMPT: The main type is the one which most employees here contribute.

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

B.7 How long has this workplace been undertaking this main activity regardless of any changes of address or name?

Less than 2 years	<input type="text"/>	1
2 to less than 5 years	<input type="text"/>	2
5 to less than 10 years	<input type="text"/>	3
10 to less than 20 years	<input type="text"/>	4
20 to less than 50 years	<input type="text"/>	5
50 years or more	<input type="text"/>	6

B.8 In what year did this workplace start operating at this address?

Year:

B.9 Which one of these statements best describe the ownership status of this workplace?

Wholly Fijian owned	<input type="text"/>	1
Predominantly Fijian (51% or more, B.11)	<input type="text"/>	2
Equally 50% Fijian (51% foreign owned B.11)	<input type="text"/>	3
Predominantly foreign owned (51% or more B.11)	<input type="text"/>	4
Wholly foreign owned, B.11)	<input type="text"/>	5

B.10 **CHECK INTERVIEW GUIDE**

IS THIS WORKPLACE A SINGLE (S) ESTABLISHMENT?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(to SECTIC
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to B.11)

B.11 In the following questions I'll be using the term organisation. By this I mean all those workplaces that are under the same common control

In which country is the ultimate head office of this organisation located?

Fiji	<input type="text"/>	1
Other (Specify)	<input type="text"/>	2

B.12 **CHECK B.11**

IS CODE 1 CIRCLED IN B.11?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(B.13)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(B.14)

B.13 Does this organisation have workplaces which are located outside Fiji?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

B.14 Does this organisation have workplaces in other parts of Fiji?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(B.16)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	

B.15 How many workplaces in this other organisation, other than this one undertake similar activities to this workplace?

None	<input type="text"/>	1	A1
1	<input type="text"/>	2	B2
2-5	<input type="text"/>	3	C3
6-10	<input type="text"/>	4	D4
11-50	<input type="text"/>	5	E5
51-100	<input type="text"/>	6	F6
More than 100	<input type="text"/>	7	G7

B.16 How many employees work for the whole organisation throughout Fiji?

Less than 100	<input type="text"/>	1
100 to less than 500	<input type="text"/>	2
500 to less than 1000	<input type="text"/>	3
1000 to less than 5000	<input type="text"/>	4
5000 to less than 10000	<input type="text"/>	5
10000 to less than 20000	<input type="text"/>	6
More than 20000	<input type="text"/>	7

B.17 Is this workplace also the organisation's corporate head office in Fiji?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

(INTERVIEWER: RECORD HEAD OFFICE STATUS ON INTERVIEW GUIDE)

B.18 Is this workplace solely an administrative office, that is it does not itself make or provide goods or services?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

B.19 How are decisions about this workplace usually made in your organisation for each of the following:

(READ OUT IN TURN AND CODE RESPONSE TO EACH)

In relation to the use of any financial or budgetary surplus?

In relation to the negotiation of an enterprise or workplace agreement?

In relation to a decrease in the number of full time employees here by about 10%

In relation to a proposal to introduce a new bonus or incentive scheme for

employees?

SECTION C: MAJOR PRODUCT OR SERVICE

The next few questions are about the market foer this workplace's major product or service.

PROMPT: Or total products or services if information on major product or services not available or applicable.

C.1 Thinking about the major product or service produced here, what is this workplace's contribution to the total domestic sales or production of your organisation?

None	<input type="text"/>	1
Less than 10%	<input type="text"/>	2
10% to 25%	<input type="text"/>	3
26% to 50%	<input type="text"/>	4
More than 50%	<input type="text"/>	5
Not applicable, this is an administrative office only	<input type="text"/>	6

C.2 Is most of your major product or service provided to other parts of your organisation?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(to C.7)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	

C.3 Which of of these best describes the nature of the market of this workplace's major product or services?

PROMPT: Primarily export is more than 50%

Domestic only with no import competition	<input type="text"/>	1
Domestic only with import competition	<input type="text"/>	2
Domestic with some export	<input type="text"/>	3
Primarily export	<input type="text"/>	4
Not applicable, this is an administrative office only	<input type="text"/>	5

C.4 Is the market for this workplace's major product or service one with many competitors, few competitors or no other competitors?

Many competitors	<input type="text"/>	1
Few competitors	<input type="text"/>	2
No other competitors	<input type="text"/>	3

C.5 How would you rate the degree of competition for this workplace's major product or service?

Intense competition	<input type="text"/>	1
Strong competition	<input type="text"/>	2
Moderate competition	<input type="text"/>	3
Some competition	<input type="text"/>	4
Limited competition	<input type="text"/>	5

C.6 While there may be number of factors, which would you regard as the most critical oner for competitive success in the market for your major product or service?

Price	<input type="text"/>
Quality of product or service	<input type="text"/>
Quality of workforce	<input type="text"/>
Responsiveness to customer's requirements	<input type="text"/>
Advertising/marketing	<input type="text"/>
Providing a distinctive product or service	<input type="text"/>
Location	<input type="text"/>
Reputation/past performance	<input type="text"/>

Other (Specify)

C.7 Is the demand for your workplace's main product or service currently expanding, stable or contracting?

Expanding	<input type="text"/>	1
Stable	<input type="text"/>	2
Contracting	<input type="text"/>	3

C.8 Generally speaking, is the demand for your main product or service seasonal?

PROMPT: *Seasonal means demand fluctuates according to an annual pattern.*

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to C.10)

C.9 Generally speaking, is the demand for your main product or services fairly predictable, or is it largely unpredictable?

Fairly predictable	<input type="text"/>	1
Largely unpredictable	<input type="text"/>	2

C.10 Suppose that there was a substantial increase in demand for your product or service, what would be your most immediate response?

Increase the use of contractors	<input type="text"/>
Increase the amount of overtime	<input type="text"/>
Increase the price of product or service	<input type="text"/>
Increase the remuneration of employees	<input type="text"/>
Increase the workplace capacity by hiring new equipment, plant or premises	<input type="text"/>
Increase the number of full time employees	<input type="text"/>
Increase the number of part time and casual employees	<input type="text"/>
Make no adjustments here	<input type="text"/>
Other (Please specify)	<input type="text"/>

C.11 Now suppose there was a substantial decrease in demand for your product or service, what would be your most immediate response?

Reduce the use of contractors	<input type="text"/>
Decrease the amount of hours worked	<input type="text"/>
Decrease the price of the product or service	<input type="text"/>
Decrease the remuneration of employees	<input type="text"/>
Decrease the workplace capacity by selling equipment, plant or premises	<input type="text"/>
Decrease the number of full time employees	<input type="text"/>
Make no adjustments here	<input type="text"/>
Other (Please specify)	<input type="text"/>

SECTION D: WORKPLACE PERFORMANCE

D.1 Approximately what percentage of total costs at this workplace are accounted for by labour costs? Labour costs include wages and salaries, leave loadings, payroll tax, workers compensation premiums superannuation contributions.

PROMPT: Total cost means all operating expenses, but in the public service excludes "program expenditure"

Less than 20%	<input type="text"/>	1
21%-40%	<input type="text"/>	2
41%-60%	<input type="text"/>	3
61%-80%	<input type="text"/>	4
More than 80%	<input type="text"/>	5

D.2 Is this workplace currently operating at what you would regard as above normal capacity, normal capacity or below normal capacity?

Above normal	<input type="text"/>	1
Normal	<input type="text"/>	2
Below normal	<input type="text"/>	3

D.3 In the last financial year, did this workplace make a pre-tax profit, break even or make a loss?

Profit	<input type="text"/>	1
Break even	<input type="text"/>	2
Loss	<input type="text"/>	3
Not applicable-administrative office only	<input type="text"/>	4

D.4 Which category best describes the current levels of expenditure on equipment at this workplace compared to two years ago? Please exclude expenditure on maintenance.

Higher by 20% or more	<input type="text"/>	1
Higher by less than 20%	<input type="text"/>	2
About the same	<input type="text"/>	3
Lower by less than 20%	<input type="text"/>	4
Lower by 20% or more	<input type="text"/>	5

D.5 I now want to ask about benchmarking. By benchmarking I mean a regular procedure which compares workplace to others to try and find better ways of doing things. Does this workplace benchmark itself against other workplaces?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	To D.8
Don't know	<input type="text"/>	3	To D.9

D.6 Which of these have you benchmarked against? (ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Organisations located overseas	<input type="text"/>	1
Organisations within Fiji	<input type="text"/>	2
Other workplaces in this organization	<input type="text"/>	3
Other (Please specify)	<input type="text"/>	4

D.7 In which of the categories listed does this workplace benchmark?
(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Relative cost position	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Operating processes	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Technology	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Quality procdures	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Customer service or satisfaction	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Labour productivity	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Occupational health and saftey	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	8

D.8 I now want to talk about labour productivity at this workplace. By labour productivity I mean how effc this workplace is in its use of labour. It is usually measured by considering outputs in relation to labour input. Are there any procedures in place which regularly measure productivity at thts workplace?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(To D.11)

D.9 At what lveles within the workplace is productivity regularly measured?
(Multiples accepted)

Measure output of individuals	1
Measure output of workgroups	2
Measure output of department or sections of the workplace	3
Other (Please specify)	4

D.10 How does management regularly measure productivity at this workplace?
(Probe fully)
(Print exact answer given)

D.11 How would you generally describe labour productivity at this workplace compared with two years ago?

A lot higher than two years ago.	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
A little higher than two years ago.	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
About the same as two years ago.	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
A little lower than two years ago.	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
A lot lower than two years ago.	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	6

D.12

In your opinion, how does the level of productivity here compare with your major competitors?

A lot higher

A little higher

About the same

A little lower

A lot lower

Dont know

Other (Specify)

1

2

3

4

5

6

D.13

Are there any pcedures in pplace which regularly measure product or service quality at this workplace

Yes

No

1

2

(To D.15)

D.14

How is product or service or service quality regularly measured at this workplace?

(Probe fully)

(Print exact answer given)

D.15

How would you generally describe product or sevice quality at this workplace compared to 2 years ago

A lot higher than two years ago

A little higher than two years ago

About the same as two years ago

A little lower than two years ago

A lot lower than two years ago

Don't know

1

2

3

4

5

6

D.16

In your opinion, how does the level of product or service quality here compare with your major competitors?

A lot higher

A little higher

About the same

A little lower

A lot lower

Don't know

Other (Specify)

1

2

3

4

5

6

D.17

I would now like to ask you about this workplace's use of Key Performance Indicators. By Key Performance Indicators I mean non-financial measures of workplace (rather than individual) performances. For example, customer waiting time, production set up time or wastage rates. Are Key Performance Indicators in use at this workplace/.

Yes

1

365

No

☐

2

(To Section E)

D.18

Please list the three most important Key Performance Indicators in use at this workplace.
(Print exact answer given)

1

2

3

D.19

At what level of the organization are these Key Performance Indicators collected?

Organization as a whole

☐

1

This workplace

☐

2

Departments or sections of this workplace

☐

3

Other (Please specify)

☐

4

D.20

Who was involved in the design of these Key Performance Indicators?
(Accept multiples)

Outside consultants

☐

1

Personnel at head office

☐

2

Managers at this workplace

☐

3

First line supervisors at this workplace

☐

4

Full time union officials

☐

5

Union delegates at this workplace

☐

6

Employees at this workplace

☐

7

None of the above

☐

8

Other (Specify)

SECTION E: MANAGEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS.

I would now like to read you some general statements about managment's approach to employee relations

E.1 Could you please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree
A This organization currently devotes considerable resources to establishing a corporate ethic and culture at this workplace.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
B If given a choice, managers in this workplace would choose quality improvemnts over labour cost reductions.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
C Managment here prefer to deal with employees directly, not through trade unions.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
D Managment here think that the award system has worked well in the past for this workplace	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
E Management here think negotiating with groups of employees or their unions over pay and conditions is a better alternative to the award system	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
F Managment here would prefer to negotiate individual contracts with each employee to set thier wages and conditions.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
G Managment here believe negotiating of a workplace or enterprise agreement will lead to improved workplace performance	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
H this organization currently devotes considerable resources to the managment of this work- place's human resources	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
I Unions representing employees here keep thier word	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
J Unions here are ssen by managment as effectively representing the views of thier members	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3

K Managment here would not mind
dealing with trade unions should
any employees join one

1 2 3

E.2

How would you rate the relationship between employees and managment at this workplace?

Very good	<input type="text"/>	1
Good	<input type="text"/>	2
Neither good nor poor	<input type="text"/>	3
Poor	<input type="text"/>	4
Very good	<input type="text"/>	5

SECTION F: ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

I would now like to ask you some questions about significant changes that might have affected this workplace in the last two years

F.1 Which, if any, of the changes listed happened in this workplace in the last two years?
(Accept multiples)

- Introduction of major new office technology (not just routine replacement) ☐
- Introduction of major new plant, machinery or equipment (not just routine replacement) ☐
- Major reorganization of workplace structure (for example changing the number of management levels, restructuring whole divisions or sections and so on) ☐
- Major changes to how non-managerial employees do their work (for example, changes in the range of tasks done, changes in the type of work done) ☐
- None of the above. (To F.12) ☐

F.2 Check F.1
Is more than one response circled at F.1?

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|----------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | (To F.3) |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | (To F.4) |

F.3 Which one of these changes has had the most significant effect on employees here?

- Introduction of major new office technology (not just routine replacement) ☐
- Introduction of major new plant, machinery or equipment (not just routine replacement) ☐
- Major reorganization of workplace structure (for example changing the number of management levels, restructuring whole divisions or sections and so on) ☐
- Major changes to how non-managerial employees do their work (for example, changes in the range of tasks done, changes in the type of work done) ☐

F.4 Could you briefly describe what this change has involved?
(Probe fully)
(Write exact response)

F.5 Why was this change introduced?

(Probe fully)
(Write exact response)

F.6 Which, if any, occupation groups at this workplace have had their work significantly altered as a result of (name of change)? (Accept multiples)

Managers	<div></div>	1
Professionals	<div></div>	2
Para-professionals	<div></div>	3
Tradespersons	<div></div>	4
Clerks	<div></div>	5
Salespersons and personal service workers	<div></div>	6
Plant and machine operators and drivers	<div></div>	7
Labourers and unskilled workers	<div></div>	8
None of the above	<div></div>	9

F.7 How involved in the decision to introduce (name of change) were
(Read out each in turn and code response to each)

	Fully involved		Some involvement	
A A higher level of managment beyond this workplace	<div></div>	1	<div></div>	2
B Senior workplace managers here?	<div></div>	1	<div></div>	2
C Other workplace managers here	<div></div>	1	<div></div>	2
D Employees likely to be affected at the workplace	<div></div>	1	<div></div>	2
E Union delegates at this workplace	<div></div>	1	<div></div>	2
F Full time union officials	<div></div>	1	<div></div>	2

F.8 What sorts of discussions were held about how the change was to be implemented?
(Accept multiples)

Informal dicussions with those employees affected by the change	<div></div>
Formal meetings with those employees affected by the change	<div></div>
Discussions in an established joint consultative committee	<div></div>
Discussion in a specially constituted committee set up to consider the particular change	<div></div>
Discussions with union delegates at this workplace	<div></div>
Discussions with full time union officials from outside this workplace	<div></div>
Other (please specify)	<div></div>

None of the above

F.9 Which of the statements best describes the role of trade unions in the (name of change)?

Negotiated with union representatives and dependent upon their agreement

Discussion with union representatives in a way that took their views into account but left management free to make the decisions.

Not discussed with union representatives.

Other (Please specify)

F.10 What has been the impact of the (name of change) on:
(read out each in turn)

	Not relevant	Increase	No change
Total number of employees.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
The number of employees who are full time	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
The number of employees who are part time.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
The number of employees who are casual.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
The number of employees who are members of a union.	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3

F.11 How would you rate the reaction of each of these groups to the introduction of (name of most significant change)? Firstly..
(Read out each in turn)

	Very cooperative	Cooperative	Uncooperative
Union delegates	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
Full time union officials	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
Employees generally at this workplace	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
Employees directly affected by this change	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
First-line supervisors	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
Management at this workplace	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3

F.12 Are there any other significant changes that have happened at this workplace in the last two years?
(Probe fully)
(Write exact response)

End of interview

Thank respondent

Appendix 5.3 Sample of the Union Delegate Questionnaire used in the Fiji study
(adapted from AWIRS)

UNION DELEGATE QUESTIONNAIRE

WORKPLACE ID

INTERVIEW DETAILS

INTERVIEW LENGTH

End Time

Start Time

Length (in minutes)

Interviewer Name:

DATE

SECTION A : UNION ORGANISATION

I am going to be asking some questions about union representatives. I will be using the term union delegate although I realise that you may use other terms here such as union representative, shop steward or office representative.

A.1 Which union are you a delegate for at this workplace?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

A.2 Are you the senior delegate for this union at this workplace?

Yes 1

No 2

During the interview I'll be using the term "workplace". For this interview the workplace is (READ OUT ADDRESS OF WORKPLACE).

A.3 How many employees at this workplace are members of your union?

Number

A.4 Apart from your union, how many other unions have members at this workplace?

None 1 (to A6)

Number 2

A.5 Is your union the one with the most members at this workplace?

Yes 1

No 2

A.6 Thinking now only about members of your union at this workplace, about what percentage of these are from the following groups:

Female employees % age 1

Employees from a non-English speaking background % age 2

Employees under 21 years of age % age 3

Part-time employees % age 4

A.7 To which of these groups does your union have members here? (ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Managers 1

Professionals	<input type="text"/>	2
Para-professionals	<input type="text"/>	3
Tradespersons	<input type="text"/>	4
Clerks	<input type="text"/>	5
Sales and personal service workers	<input type="text"/>	6
Plant and machine operators and drivers	<input type="text"/>	7
Labourers and unskilled workers	<input type="text"/>	8

A.8 In which group are most of your members?
(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Managers	<input type="text"/>	1
Professionals	<input type="text"/>	2
Para-professionals	<input type="text"/>	3
Tradespersons	<input type="text"/>	4
Clerks	<input type="text"/>	5
Sales and personal service workers	<input type="text"/>	6
Plant and machine operators and drivers	<input type="text"/>	7
Labourers and unskilled workers	<input type="text"/>	8

A.9 INTERVIEWER : USE ANSWER IN A.8 TO ASK A.10

A.10 In general, how much influence would you say that the (OCCUPATION GROUP WITH MOST MEMBERS) have over
PROMPT : As individuals, not through the union

	No influence	Some Influence	Lots of Influence
a How their work is allocated	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
b How their work is done	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
c The pace at which their work is done	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
d How this workplace is run	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3
e The times they can start and finish work	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> 3

A.11 Compared to this time last year, does your union have more, less or about the same number of members here?

More 1

Less	<input type="text"/>	2	
The same	<input type="text"/>	3	(to A.14)

A.12 About how many (more/less)?

Number

A.13 What are the reasons for this change in the number of members?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Union amalgamations	<input type="text"/>	1
Union recruitment	<input type="text"/>	2
Employees leaving or joining the union	<input type="text"/>	3
Management discouraging or encouraging union membership	<input type="text"/>	4
Change in the number of employees at this workplace	<input type="text"/>	5
Membership drive	<input type="text"/>	6
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>	7

A.14 Are any employees at this workplace required, in your view, to be a member of your union in order to work here?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(A.18)

A.15 Does this requirement apply to all the employees here who could be a member of your union?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

A.16 In your view, which of these statements best describes why they are required to be a member of your union?

Award preference clause	<input type="text"/>	1
Agreement between union and management	<input type="text"/>	2
Management policy	<input type="text"/>	3
Union policy	<input type="text"/>	4
Peer group pressure amongst employees	<input type="text"/>	5
Custom and practice	<input type="text"/>	6
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>	7

Don't know	<input type="text"/>	8
------------	----------------------	---

A.17 **CHECK A.15**
Was code one circled in A.15?

Yes	1	(to A.19)
No	2	(to A.19)

A.18 Thinking about employees who, in your view, are not required to be a member of your union, which one of these statements do you think best describes the current membership arrangements of your union here?

Relevant employees are encouraged by management but are not required to be a member of this union ☐

Relevant employees are neither encouraged nor discouraged by management from being a member of this union ☐

Relevant employees are discouraged by management from joining this union ☐

A.19 How do new employees here usually join your union?

Union delegates recruit them ☐

Employees volunteer to join ☐

Full time official recruits them ☐

Management 'signs them on' when employed ☐

Other (SPECIFY) ☐

A.20 Has your union office conducted any recruitment drives at this workplace in the last year?

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2 (to A.24)

A.21 About how many new members were recruited?

Number

A.22 Which of these statements describe how the recruitment drive happened at this workplace?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

A meeting of employees was called by union officials to explain benefits of membership ☐ 1

Individual workers were approached by a full time union official ☐ 2

Individual workers were approached by union delegates ☐ 3

A letter or notice from the union explaining the benefits of membership was handed out to all potential members ☐ 4

Other (SPECIFY) ☐ 5

A.23 How was the last recruitment drive initiated?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| By delegates at this workplace | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| By local union office | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Decision at union conference | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Decision of union executive | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Other (SPECIFY) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
-

A.24 Thinking of employees here
who aren't in any union, how
many are in your union?

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|---|
| None | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Number | <input type="text"/> | 2 |

A.25 And of that number, how many are women?

Number

A.26 Can any workers here be covered by more than one union?

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |

A.27 How many of your members are also members of another union that organises here?

Number

A.28 What is your estimate of the total number of delegates for all unions at this workplace?

Number

A.29 How many delegates are there at this workplace for **your** union?

Number

MODIFY WORDING OF A.30 - A.33 IF ONLY ONE DELEGATE FOR THIS UNION

A.30 How many of the current delegates for your union have been delegates here for more than two years?

Number

A.31 How many of the current delegates for your union are women?

Number

A.32 How many of the current delegates for your union do you think are from non-English speaking background

Number

A.33 How many of the current delegates for your union are part-time employees?

Number

A.34 How does a union member here usually become a delegate?

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|---|
| Volunteers | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Elected | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Nominated | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |

Appointed by union officials
Other (SPECIFY)

<input type="text"/>	4
<input type="text"/>	5

SECTION B : ROLE OF UNION DELEGATE

I would now like to ask you some questions about your job and your role as a delegate.

B.1 OCCUPATION CARD

Which group best describes your current occupation?

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|
| Managers | <input type="text"/> | 1 |
| Professionals | <input type="text"/> | 2 |
| Para-professionals | <input type="text"/> | 3 |
| Tradespersons | <input type="text"/> | 4 |
| Clerks | <input type="text"/> | 5 |
| Sales and personal service workers | <input type="text"/> | 6 |
| Plant and machine operators and drivers | <input type="text"/> | 7 |
| Labourers and Unskilled workers | <input type="text"/> | 8 |

B.2 How long have you been employed at this workplace?

(IF LESS THAN 1 YEAR, WRITE 01)

Years

B.3 How many years have you been a union delegate at this workplace?

(IF LESS THAN 1 YEAR, WRITE 01)

Years

B.4 In total, how long have you been a delegate, including here and anywhere else?

(IF LESS THAN 1 YEAR, WRITE 01)

Years

B.5 How did you get to be a delegate at this workplace?

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|
| I was elected by members | <input type="text"/> | 1 |
| I was appointed by the union | <input type="text"/> | 2 |
| I volunteered to be a delegate | <input type="text"/> | 3 |
| My name was put forward by other members here | <input type="text"/> | 4 |
| Other (SPECIFY) | <input type="text"/> | 5 |

B.6 On average, roughly, how many hours per week do you spend on union activities,

including both time at the workplace and at home?

Hours

B.7 On average, how many of these hours would be during the time you were at work?

Hours

B.8 And on average, roughly how many hours per week do you spend on union activities at work, for which you are not paid by your employer?

Number

B.9 Which statement best describes your ability to hold meetings with union members at this workplace?

I can usually call meetings during normal working hours (this includes lunchtime)

1

I can sometimes call meetings during normal working hours (this includes lunchtime)

2

I always have to hold meetings outside my working hours

3

B.10 As a delegate, which, if any, of these tasks do you do?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Handle communications between the union office and members

☐

Recruit members

☐

Handle queries about award conditions

☐

Handle individual grievances

☐

Handle equal employment opportunity issues

☐

Monitor and deal with occupational health and safety issues

☐

Handle sexual/racial harassment complaints

☐

Negotiate wage rises

☐

Negotiate about physical working conditions

☐

Negotiate about work practices

☐

Negotiate about allocation of overtime

☐

Negotiate other employment conditions

☐

Negotiate workplace/enterprise agreement

☐

Participate on formal consultative committees

☐

Prepare newsletters/reports for members at this workplace

☐

Other (SPECIFY)

☐

None of the above

(to B.12)

☐

B.12 On which of these issues have you ever received training through union courses?

Developing general negotiation/consultation skills

☐

Union rules and structures

☐

Recruitment skills

☐

Equal employment opportunity/affirmative action

☐

Sexual and racial harassment

☐

Occupational health and safety	<input type="text"/>
Negotiating workplace agreements	<input type="text"/>
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>

B.13 Since becoming a delegate at this workplace, have you attended any union training courses?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to B.17)

B.14 In total, how many days did you spend on union training courses in the last year?

Days

B.15 On which of these issues have you received training through union courses in the last year?

Developing general negotiation/consultation skills	<input type="text"/>
Union rules and structures	<input type="text"/>
Recruitment skills	<input type="text"/>
Equal employment opportunity/affirmative action	<input type="text"/>
Sexual and racial harassment	<input type="text"/>
Occupational health and safety	<input type="text"/>
Negotiating workplace agreements	<input type="text"/>
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>

B.16 Overall, how would you rate the usefulness of the union training you have received?

Extremely useful	<input type="text"/>	1
Useful	<input type="text"/>	2
Not very useful	<input type="text"/>	3
A waste of time	<input type="text"/>	4

B.17 In terms of your positiona as a union delegate, how skilled do you consider yourself to be in handling

	Unskilled		Partly Skilled	
Grievances from individual employees	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	2
Discussions with management about workplace issues	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	2
Occupational health and safety matters	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	2
The negotiation of a workplace/enterprise agreement	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	2
Sexual/racial harassment complaints	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	2
Queries about award conditions	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/>	2

B.18 Do you feel that you have enough access to office facilities at this workplace for you to do your job properly as a delegate?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

B.19 In the last year how often have general meetings for members of your union been held at this workplace?

At least once a month 1

At least once every 3 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
At least once every 6 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
Irregularly	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	(to SECTION C)

B.20 How often were these meetings held during work time, including lunchtime?

All the time	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Most of the time	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Some of the time	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Never	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

B.21 What was the main topic discussed at the last general meeting of members?

(PROBE FULLY)

(WRITE EXACT RESPONSE)

SECTION C : DELEGATE-UNION RELATIONS

C.1 In the last year how frequently have you spoken with fulltime union officials about this workplace

PROMPT : A full time official is a paid employee of the union e.g. organiser, industrial officer, branch secretary.

At least once a week	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
At least once a month	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
At least once every 3 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
At least once every 6 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

Irregularly	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	6

C.2 In the last year how frequently has a full-time official from your union visited this workplace?

At least once a week	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
At least once a month	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
At least once every 3 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
At least once every 6 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
Irregularly	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	(to C4)

C.3 What was the main purpose of the last visit by a full time official to the workplace?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Negotiate workplace/enterprise agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Report on negotiations over workplace/enterprise agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Membership/recruitment drive	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Redundancies/retrenchments	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Industrial action	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	6

C.4 How often would fulltime officials become involved in discussions at this workplace about

Pay rates	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Overtime	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Rosters or shift arrangements	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Dismissals	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Redundancies	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
The negotiation of a workplace agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
The interpretation of an existing workplace agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
The interpretations of an award	<input type="checkbox"/>	8

C.5 Which of these methods are used by your union office to communicate with you in your role as a delegate?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Telephone	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Circulars, letters or notices	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Visits by full time union officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
E-mail (internet)	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Briefings for delegates	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	6

C.6 CHECK C.5

IS MORE THAN ONE CODE CIRCLED AT C.5?

Yes ☐ 1 (to C.7)
No ☐ 2 (to C.8)

C.7 Of those methods you mentioned is the **one** used **most often**

Telephone	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Circulars, letters or notices	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Visits by full time union officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
E-mail (internet)	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Briefings for delegates	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	6

C.8 Do you feel you get enough support from your union office for you to do your job as a delegate?

Yes ☐ 1 (to C.10)
No ☐ 2

C.9 In what ways could the union give you extra support?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

C.10 Do you feel that your union keeps you up to date about issues which are relevant to this workplace?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

SECTION D: UNION AMALGAMATIONS

D.1 I'd now like to talk about union amalgamations.

D.2 Has your union been part of an amalgamation since 1988?

PROMPT : By amalgamation I mean where a union joins with another union and in effect creates a new, bigger union. It usually involves getting a new union name

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION E)
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to SECTION E)

D.3 As a result of amalgamations, did any employees at this workplace who used to be members of different unions come to be in the same union?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION E)
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to SECTION E)

D.5 In your opinion, do you think that amalgamation has meant you have a greater say in union decisions that affect your workplace, less of a say, or is there no difference?

A greater say	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Less of a say	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
No difference	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

D.6 Since amalgamation, have you had more contact, less contact or about the same contact with full time officials from your union?

More contact	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Less contact	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
About the same contact	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

D.7 Has there been an increase or a decrease in the training opportunities offered to you by your union since it amalgamated?

Increased	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Decreased	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
No change	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

D.8 What effect has amalgamation had on membership numbers for your union at this workplace? Has it increased or decreased the numbers, or had no effect?

Increased number of members	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Decreased	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Had no effect	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

D.9 In your opinion, what effect has amalgamation had on your union's ability to assist you in dealing with issues that arise at your workplace?

The union seems more able to help me deal with issues	<input type="text"/>
The union seems less able to help me deal with issues	<input type="text"/>
There has been no change in the ability of the union to help me	<input type="text"/>
Don't know	<input type="text"/>

D.10 Since amalgamation, have there been any changes to the type or number of services provided to delegates or union members at this workplace?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2
Don't know	<input type="text"/>	3 (to SECTION E)

D.11 What have those changes been?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER)

SECTION E : INTER-UNION RELATIONS

E.1 INTERVIEW GUIDE

DOES THIS WORKPLACE HAVE MORE THAN ONE UNION?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(to E.2)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to SECTION F)

I would now like to ask some questions about relations between unions at this workplace.

E.2 In the past year have there been any serious disagreements between unions here?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to E.4)

E.3 Thinking about the last such disagreement, what was it about?

Workplace agreement negotiations	<input type="text"/>	1
Union membership	<input type="text"/>	2
Allocation of work or jobs	<input type="text"/>	3
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>	4

E.4 Do delegates from your union and other unions meet together as a committee or on a regular basis at this workplace?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to SECTION F)

E.5 Does this committee include representatives from all unions that have members here?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

E.6 How often, if at all, in the last year has this committee or any of its representatives met with management?

Never	<input type="text"/>	1	(to SECTION F)
Once or twice	<input type="text"/>	2	
3 - 10 times	<input type="text"/>	3	
11 - 12 times	<input type="text"/>	4	
21 - 50 times	<input type="text"/>	5	
More than 50 times	<input type="text"/>	6	

E.7 What was the **main** issue dealt with by this committee in the last 12 months?

Negotiating or implementing a workplace agreement	<input type="text"/>	1
Equal employment opportunity/affirmative action matters	<input type="text"/>	2
Allocation of jobs or work	<input type="text"/>	3

SECTION F : UNION-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

And now some questions on the relationship between delegates from your union and management at this workplace.

F.1 CHECK A.29

WHAT WAS THE NUMBER RECORDED IN A.29?

One	<input type="text"/>	1	(to F.5)
More than one	<input type="text"/>	2	(to F.2)

F.2 Do delegates from your union at this workplace meet together as a committee or on a regular basis?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to F.5)

F.3 How often, if at all, in the last year has this committee or any of its representatives met with management?

Never	<input type="text"/>	1	(to F.5)
Once or twice	<input type="text"/>	2	
3 to 10 times	<input type="text"/>	3	
11 to 20 times	<input type="text"/>	4	
21 to 50 times	<input type="text"/>	5	
More than 50 times	<input type="text"/>	6	

F.4 What are the issues most frequently dealt with by this committee?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Negotiations with management	<input type="text"/>
Occupational health and safety	<input type="text"/>
Equal employment opportunity/affirmative action matters	<input type="text"/>
Sexual/racial harassment	<input type="text"/>
Developing a workplace agreement	<input type="text"/>
Negotiating or implementing a workplace agreement...	<input type="text"/>
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>

F.5 How regularly would you meet with management above first line supervisor level on union matters?

Daily	<input type="text"/>	1
At least once a week	<input type="text"/>	2
At least once a month	<input type="text"/>	3
Hardly ever	<input type="text"/>	4
Never	<input type="text"/>	5

F.6 What is the highest level of management you could approach to discuss an important union issue without first discussing it with management at a lower level?

Management at a higher level beyond this workplace	<input type="text"/>	1
The most senior manager at this workplace	<input type="text"/>	2
Other senior managers at this workplace	<input type="text"/>	3
'Employee Relations' manager at this workplace	<input type="text"/>	4
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>	5

F.7 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of these statements ...

(READ OUT EACH IN TURN)

Firstly, statement a

	Disagree		Don't know
a Management here would prefer to deal with employees directly (individually) rather than through a trade union	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/> 2
b Management here keep their word	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/> 2
c My job as a delegate is made difficult because management here don't know enough about award conditions and industrial relations practices	<input type="text"/>	1	<input type="text"/> 2

F.8 In general how would you rate the relationship between employees and management at this workplace?

Very good	<input type="text"/>	1
Good	<input type="text"/>	2
Neither good nor bad	<input type="text"/>	3
Bad	<input type="text"/>	4
Very bad	<input type="text"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="text"/>	6

SECTION G : WORKPLACE NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS

This section deals with workplace negotiations and agreements.

- G.1 Who would you most often deal with when negotiating the following issues at this workplace?

(READ OUT IN TURN AND CODE RESPONSE TO EACH)

Staffing levels
Wage increases
Physical working conditions
Occupational health and safety
Introduction of new technology
Dismissals and disciplinary action
Changes to work practices

I would now like to talk about workplace agreements. Agreements are different from awards. Agreements are the result of negotiation or enterprise bargaining.

- G.2 Are there any agreements between your union and the employer here?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to SECTION H)
Don't know	<input type="text"/>	3	(to SECTION H)

- G.3 How many agreements between your union and the employer here are in each of the categories shown?

Certified agreement under legislation	<input type="text"/>	1
Enterprise flexibility agreement under legislation	<input type="text"/>	2
Other enterprise agreements or enterprise awards under legislation	<input type="text"/>	3
Agreement lodged with or ratified by a commission, tribunal or registrar	<input type="text"/>	4
Unregistered written agreement between management and union(s)	<input type="text"/>	5
Unregistered written collective agreement between management and employees	<input type="text"/>	6
Verbal agreement	<input type="text"/>	7
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="text"/>	8

- G.4 Have any written agreements between your union and the employer here been made in the last ten years, including any renegotiated agreements

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to SECTION H)
Don't know	<input type="text"/>	3	(to SECTION H)

- G.5 Thinking of those agreements made in the last ten years, what type of agreements were they

Certified agreement under legislation	<input type="text"/>	1
---------------------------------------	----------------------	---

Enterprise flexibility agreement under legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Other enterprise agreements or enterprise awards under legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Agreement lodged with or ratified by a commission, tribunal or registrar	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Unregistered written agreement between management and union(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Unregistered written collective agreement between management and employees	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Not sure how to classify	<input type="checkbox"/>	7

G.6 The following questions refer to the most recently made (READ OUT HIGHEST CODE IN G.5) What do you call this agreement?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

G.7 CHECK INTERVIEW GUIDE

IS THIS NAME THE SAME AS THE ONE GIVEN BY THE EMPLOYEE RELATIONS MANAGER?

IF NOT, READ THE NAME OUT TO THE DELEGATE AND ASK IF THE TWO AGREEMENTS ARE THE SAME OR IF THEY ARE DIFFERENT, AND RECO THIS HERE:

The agreement is the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
The agreement is different	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Management said there wasn't an agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

G.8 Were you personally involved in the negotiation of (NAME OF AGREEMENT IN G.6)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to G.11)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to G.11)

G.9 Do you feel you had enough skills or training to effectively participate in negotiating this agreement?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

G.10 Do you feel your union gave you enough support throughout the period of negotiating the agreement?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

G.11 Were any of your members here consulted by your union during the negotiation period?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to G.13)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to G.13)

G.12 How were employees consulted by your union?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Union literature circulated	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Union meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Union officials came and spoke with members	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

G.13 Did members of your union here vote on whether to accept the agreement?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

G.14 Was there any industrial action taken by your members:

(READ OUT)

	Yes	No
During the negotiation of the agreement	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
During the implementation of the agreement	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

G.15 **CHECK G.14**
DID RESPONDENT SAY YES IN G.14?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(to G.16)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to G.19)

G.16 What type of action was it and at what stage was it taken?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

G.17 Was the industrial action "protected" under the Industrial Relations Act?

PROMPT : Protected action means that the employer and the Ministry of Labour and Industrial Relations Commission have been notified that the union wishes to negotiate an agreement that the employer has been given 72 hours notice before industrial action commences.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(to G.19)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to G.19)

G.18 Why did your union not seek protection for the industrial action?

Not eligible	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Didn't know it was available	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Didn't know how to do it	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Procedures too complicated	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Have to wait too long until able to take action	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	6

G.19 Were there any parts of this agreement which were not able to be implemented?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION H)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to SECTION H)

G.20 What parts of this agreement were unable to be implemented?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Pay rates	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Performance appraisal/pay	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Work hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Penalty rates	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Multiskilling	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Discipline and dismissals	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Work practices or work organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Retrenchments or redeployment	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
Occupational health and safety	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
Training	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
Leave arrangements	<input type="checkbox"/>	11
Child care or family leave arrangements	<input type="checkbox"/>	12
Contract of employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	13
Introduction or use of technology/equipment	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
Consultation or negotiation arrangements	<input type="checkbox"/>	15
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	16

G.21 What prevented the implementation of these parts of this agreement?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Employee resistance	<input type="checkbox"/>
Union resistance	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle management/first line supervisor resistance	<input type="checkbox"/>
Senior management/head office resistance	<input type="checkbox"/>
Financial resource constraints	<input type="checkbox"/>
Change in economic environment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Change in ownership	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>

G.22 Overall, do you think that your members have benefited from this agreement, been worse off as a result of it, or have felt no effect?

SECTION H : EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

I'm now going to talk about equal employment opportunities.

H.1 In the last year have you made any representation to management on behalf of your members about an Equal Employment Opportunity issue?

PROMPT : Equal Employment Opportunities and Affirmative Action are terms used to describe a range of measures aimed at removing discrimination if it exists and ensuring that all employees have the same opportunity at the workplace.

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

H.2 Does this workplace have a formal grievance procedure that covers complaints about sexual harassment?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2 (to H.4)
Don't know ☐ 3 (to H.4)

H.3 Have any members of your union lodged a complaint under this procedure in the last year?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't know ☐ 3

H.4 Does this workplace have a formal grievance procedure that covers complaints about racial harassments

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't know ☐ 3

H.5 Have any members of your union lodged a complaint under this procedure in the last year?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't know ☐ 3

H.6 If they wanted it, could members of your union here get some English language training?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't know ☐ 3

H.7 To your knowledge, have any members of your union received English language training in the last year?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2 (to SECTION J)
Don't know ☐ 3 (to SECTION J)

H.8 Do you think any members of your union here need English language training?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION J)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to SECTION J)

H.9 Who was it organised by - management, the union or someone else?

Management	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
The union	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Someone else (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

H.10 How many members of your union from a non-English speaking background have taken up the English language training available?

Most	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(to SECTION J)
Some	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION J)
Very few	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
None have	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	(to SECTION J)

H.11 What is the main reason that employees from non-English speaking background have been reluctant to take up this training?

(SINGLE RESPONSE)

Only available outside working hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Management is not very supportive	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Most people do not know about it	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Most people are not interested	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
It is too expensive	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Not relevant	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	7

SECTION J : ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

I would now like to ask you some questions about significant changes that might have affected this workplace in the last two years.

J.1 Which, if any, of the changes listed happened at this workplace in the last 2 years?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Introduction of major new office technology (not just routine replacement)	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
---	--------------------------	---

Introduction of major new plant, machinery

- or equipment (not just routine replacement) ☐ 2
- Major reorganisation of workplace structure (for example, changing the number of management levels, restructuring whole divisions/sections and so on) ☐ 3
- Major changes to how non-managerial employees do their work (for example, changes in the range of tasks done, changes in the type of work done) ☐ 4

J.2 CHECK J.1

Is more than one response circled at J.1?

- Yes ☐ 1 (to J.3)
No ☐ 2 (to J.4)

J.3 Which one of these changes has had the most significant effect on employees here?

- Introduction of major new office technology (not just routine replacement) ☐ 1
- Introduction of major new plant, machinery or equipment (not just routine replacement) ☐ 2
- Major organisation of workplace structure (for example, changing the number of management levels, restructuring whole divisions/sections and so on) ☐ 3
- Major changes to how non-managerial employees do their work (for example, exchange in the range of tasks done, changes in the type of work done) ☐ 4

J.4 Could you briefly describe what this change has involved?

(PROBE FULLY)

(WRITE EXACT RESPONSE)

J.5 Why was this change introduced?

(PROBE FULLY)

(WRITE EXACT RESPONSE)

J.6 In the decision to introduce (NAME OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE) how involved was....

(READ OUT EACH IN TURN AND CODE HIGHEST RESPONSE TO EACH)

	Not Involved	Some Involvement
Your union at this workplace?	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2
Full time officials from union?	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2
The employees likely to be affected at this workplace?	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2

J.7 What sorts of discussions were held about how the (NAME OF MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE) was to be implemented?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Informal discussions between management and those employees affected by change	<input type="text"/> 1
Formal meetings between management and those employees affected by change	<input type="text"/> 2
Discussions in an established joint consultative committee	<input type="text"/> 3
Discussions in a specially constituted committee to consider the particular change	<input type="text"/> 4
Discussions between management and union delegates at this workplace	<input type="text"/> 5
Discussions between management and full time union officials from outside this workplace	<input type="text"/> 7
None of the above	<input type="text"/> 8

J.8 Were any modifications made to the plans for the (NAME OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE) specifically as a result of any consultations between management and employees or their representatives?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

J.9 Which of the following best describes the role of your union in the (NAME OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE)?

Management negotiated with union representatives and it was dependent upon their agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	--------------------------

Management discussed with union representatives in a way that took their views into account, but left management free to make the decisions	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

Management did not discuss with union representatives	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

J.10 How would you rate the reaction of each of the following groups to the introduction of (NAME OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE)?

	Unsupp- ortive		Some support	
a Union delegates from your union	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
b Full-time union officials from your union	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
c Employees who are members of your union	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
d Employees generally at this workplace	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
e First-line supervisors	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
f Management at this workplace	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

J.11 Are there any (other) significant changes that have happened at this workplace in the last 5 years?

(PROBE FULLY AND WRITE EXACT ANSWER)

J.12 Now thinking generally about all changes that have happened here over the last 5 years, do you think members of your union were consulted enough by management about the changes?

SECTION K : COMMUNICATION AND PARTICIPATION

I'd now like to ask some questions about communication and participation at this workplace.

K.1 Which of these methods, if any, are currently used by management to communicate with (at this workplace) members of your union?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

- Daily "walk around" the workplace by senior, management ☐
- Suggestion schemes ☐
- Regular newsletters/staff bulletins distributed to all employees ☐
- Surveys or ballots of employees' views or opinion ☐
- Electronic mail ☐
- Regular formal meetings between managers and/or supervisors and employees ☐
- Giving union delegates information to pass onto their members ☐
- Regular social functions ☐
- None of the above ☐

K.2 About which, if any, of these issues does management provide information to delegates to specifically pass on to members?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

- Future staffing plans ☐
- Investment plans ☐
- Workplace performance ☐
- Product or service quality ☐
- Customer or client satisfaction ☐
- Occupational health and safety ☐
- None of the above ☐

K.3 Are there any other issues that management regularly provides information to delegates from your union so you can pass that information on to your members?

(PROBE FULLY, WRITE DOWN EXACT ANSWER)

K.4 CHECK INTERVIEW GUIDE

DOES THIS WORKPLACE HAVE A SEMI OR FULLY AUTONOMOUS WORK-GROUP OR A QUALITY CIRCLE?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(to K.5)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to K.9)

K.5 Some workplaces organise their employees into work-groups or teams in order to solve problems or to discuss performance. These teams are sometimes known as semi or fully autonomous work-groups or quality circles.

Are any of your members involved in such groups at this workplaces?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to K.9)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to K.9)

K.6 By what name are these groups known?

(RECORD FOR USE IN FOLLOWING QUESTIONS)

K.7 In your view, which if any, of the following describe what the (NAMED WORK GROUPS) have actually achieved?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Allow employees to have their say	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Save money and increase efficiency	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Improve quality	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Increase job satisfaction	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Get employees to work harder	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Improve customer satisfaction	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Enhance customer satisfaction	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	8

K.8 In general, are the ideas developed in the (NAMED WORK GROUPS) usually put into practice?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

K.9 **CHECK INTERVIEW GUIDE**

DOES THIS WORKPLACE HAVE A JOINT CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(to K.10)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION L)

K.10 Is there a joint consultative committee that deals with issues relevant to your members at this workplace?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION L)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to SECTION L)

K.11 What is the name of the joint consultative committee which operates here?

PROMPT : If respondent says there are more than one, ask for the name of the committee that represents the largest group of employees and covers the widest range of issues

(WRITE IN)

K.12 CHECK INTERVIEW GUIDE

IS NAME OF COMMITTEE IN K.11 THE SAME AS ON THE INTERVIEW GU

IF NOT, READ OUT THE NAME TO THE DELEGATE AND ASK IF THE TWO COMMITTEES ARE THE SAME OR DIFFERENT AND RECORD THIS HERE

Committee is the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Committee is different	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

K.13 Are you a member of the (NAME OF COMMITTEE)?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to SECTION L)

K.14 How would you rate the quality of information provided by management to worker representatives for meetings of (NAME OF COMMITTEE)?

Very good	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither good nor bad	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Bad	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Very bad	<input type="checkbox"/>	5

SECTION L : INDUSTRIAL ACTION

I'm now going to talk about industrial action.

L.1 Which, if any, of these forms of industrial action have been taken by your members at this workplace in the last year?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Strikes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
Stop work meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
Overtime bans or restrictions	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
Go slows	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
Picketing	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	
Work to rule	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	
Other bans	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	
None of the above	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	(to L.6)

L.2 Over what issues was any industrial action taken in the last year?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

Wages	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
Overtime	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
Leave	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
Superannuation	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
Health and Safety	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	
Working conditions	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	
Dismissal/Discipline	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	
Management decision or proposal	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	
Hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	
Roster	<input type="checkbox"/>	10	
Negotiations of a workplace agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>	11	
Other (SPECIFY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	12	

L.3 CHECK L.1

IS ONLY ONE CODE CIRCLED IN L.1?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	(to L.5)
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to L.4)

L.4 Over the past year, which one from of industrial action that involved your member here had the most impact on the operation of the workplace?

Strikes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
Stop work meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
Overtime bans or restrictions	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
Go slows	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	

Picketing	<input type="text"/>	5
Work to rule	<input type="text"/>	6
Other bans	<input type="text"/>	7

L.5 In the last year have any of your members here lost any earnings because of taking industrial action?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(to L.7)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	(to L.7)

L.6 When was the last time that your members took any form of industrial action at this workplace?

More than one year to less than two years	<input type="text"/>	1
Two years to less than five years	<input type="text"/>	2
Five years or more	<input type="text"/>	3
Never	<input type="text"/>	4
Don't know	<input type="text"/>	5

L.7 In the last year, has management ever taken or threatened legal action against your union or members of your union because of any threatened or actual industrial action affecting the workplace?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	(to L.9)
No	<input type="text"/>	2	

L.8 Was legal action taken?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

L.9 In the last year, have any of your members at this workplace been stood down because of industrial action by other workers, either here or elsewhere?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1
No	<input type="text"/>	2

SECTION M : CONCLUSION

M.1 Just to finish, what do you think are the major difficulties or problems you face when carrying out your job as a union delegate here?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

M.2 Are there any issues coming up at this workplace about which you might want some assistance from your union office?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	(to END OF INTERVIEW)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	(to END OF INTERVIEW)

M.3 What are these issues?

(PRINT EXACT ANSWER GIVEN)

Appendix 5.4 List of interviewees in field survey, Fiji

Interviewee	Official Position
A. Air Terminal Services	
Alifereti Malo	Personnel Manager
Fred Panapasa	Aircraft Engineer (and President, FASA)
B. Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji	
Jone Koroitamana	Chief Executive
Norman Yee	Deputy Chief Executive
Timoci Tuisawau	Director, Technical Services
N G Singh	Chief, Communication Services and FPSA official
Jayant Singh	Principal Personnel Officer
Watisoni Nata	Air Traffic Controller and FATCOA official
Perumal Mupnar	Administrative Officer
Bale Raikoso	Senior Fireman
Babu Ram	Personnel Officer
Salote Kamakorewa	Clerical Officer
C. Colonial	
Anne Forster	Trainer and TQM Co-ordinator
D. Department of Civil Aviation and Tourism	
Nemani Buresova	Permanent Secretary
Paula Ramasima	Chief Administrative Officer
Jona Sevura	Assistant Secretary
E. Fiji Employers Federation	
Thomas Raju	President
Ken Roberts	Chief Executive
Poate Mata	Chairman of Human Resources Council

F. Fiji National Training Council

Nelson Delailomaloma

Director-General

G. Ministry of Employment and Industrial Relations

Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi

Permanent Arbitrator

Josefa Seruilagilagi

Permanent Secretary

Abdul Khan

Principal Labour Officer

H. Public Service Commission

Charles Walker

Part-time Commissioner

Anare Jale

Deputy Secretary

Rupeni Nacewa

Director, Personnel

Mosese Sikivou

Director, Management Services

Saverio Baleikanacea

PAO, Industrial Relations

Litia Mawi

PAO, Management Services

Sakiusa Bainivalu

PAO, Government Training Centre

**Appendix 5.5 Sample of explanatory note attached to Employee Survey
Questionnaire**

Dear Respondent

I am a Fijian national currently pursuing doctoral studies in Development Administration at the National Center for Development Studies at the Australian National University. My PhD thesis focuses on work motivation and productivity in development with a particular focus on the use and difficulties of work motivational strategies as a tool for enhancing productivity in the workplace. The fieldwork component of my study requires me to collect qualitative and quantitative data. As such this questionnaire is one of several research tools which I will be utilising in the field to assist me in my data collection.

The questionnaire can either be self-administered or administered to by the principal researcher, in this case, myself, or a designated research assistant and the final strategy will only be taken after consultation with the liaison officer for this research in your organisation.

The questionnaire which has been compiled in a manner applicable to organisations in both the public and private sectors, can be filled by all employees at all levels and uses a level of English that is commonplace allowing you to progress through it with ease. Unless advised otherwise, the conventional response is a tick () in the space provided. An additional sheet explaining the definitions of occupational categories used in this questionnaire is attached at the end of the employee survey form.

Your cooperation in this venture is highly appreciated and all responses will be treated confidentially. Any queries regarding the questionnaire should be directed to the principal researcher or in the case of the organisational contact for this research, to

.....
.....

Telephone.....

Thank you for your assistance and support

Eci K Nabalarua
Principal researcher
NCDS, ANU

Appendix 5.6 List of survey respondents showing full range of workplace ID, age, ethnicity, gender and job title

	Workplace ID	Age	Ethnicity	Gender	Job title
ATS	1	38	Indian	M	Property Officer
	2	21	Fijian	F	Cooks assistant
	3	27	Fijian	F	Accounts Officer
	4	36	Fijian	M	Storemen
	5	28	Indian	M	Engineer
	6	38	Fijian	M	Personnel Manager
	7	26	Fijian	M	Aircraft Maintenance Engineer
	8	44	Fijian	M	Assistant Accountant
	9	58	Fijian	M	Airline Cook
	10	34	Indian	M	Cook's Assistant
	11	36	Fijian	M	Carpenter
	12	48	Indian	M	Cook
	13	36	Fijian	M	Engineering Assistant
	14	44	Fijian	M	Manager, Technical Services
	15	24	Fijian	M	Aircraft Maintenance Engineer
	16	33	Indian	M	Manager, Information Systems
	17	46	Rotuman	F	Lead Traffic Agent
	18	58	Indian	M	Supply Controller
	19	25	Part-Chinese	M	Traffic Agent
	20	27	Fijian	M	Driver
	21	28	Fijian	M	Driver
	22	56	Fijian	M	Driver
	23	..	Fijian	F	Traffic Agent
	24	26	Indian	M	Traffic Agent
	25	37	Part-Chinese	M	Equipment Maintenance Foreman
	26	40	Fijian	M	Equipment Maintenance Mechanic
	27	48	Fijian	M	Shift Supervisor
	28	46	Indian	M	Airline Cook
	29	50	Fijian	M	Manager, Catering Services
	30	33	Part-European	M	Driver
	31	28	Fijian	F	Catering Attendant
	32	24	Part-European	F	Administrative Officer
	33	49	Indian	M	Cleaner
	34	26	Fijian	F	Traffic Agent
	35	40	Indian	M	Automotive Mechanic
	36	43	Rotuman	F	Load Control Agent

	37	53	Indian	M	Chief Executive Officer
	38	40	Rotuman	M	Aircraft Engineer
	39	25	Fijian	M	Aircraft Engineer
	40	45	Indian	M	Manager, Finance
	41	51	Fijian	M	Storeman
	42	49	Fijian	M	Machine Operator
	43	..	Rotuman	F	Secretary
CAAF	44	54	Chinese	M	Deputy Chief Executive
	45	56	Fijian	M	Fire Officer
	46	45	Indian	M	Administrative Officer
	47	33	Indian	F	Clerk Typist
	48	31	Fijian	M	Technical Officer
	49	46	Indian	M	Principal Personnel Officer
	50	39	Fijian	M	Director, Commercial Development
	51	45	Fijian	M	Senior Fireman
	52	24	Fijian	M	Technician
	53	..	Indian	M	Fire Station Officer
	54	55	Fijian	M	Fire Officer
	55	46	Indian	M	Fire Officer
	56	55	Fijian	M	Fireman
	57	38	Part-European	M	Fireman
	58	52	Fijian	M	Acting Fire Chief
	59	22	Part-Chinese	M	Telecommunication Cadet
	60	22	Fijian	F	Telecommunication Cadet
	61	49	Fijian	M	Fire Officer
	62	45	Fijian	M	Fire Officer
	63	49	Fijian	M	Fire Officer
	64	34	Fijian	F	Typist
	65	44	Fijian	F	Clerical Officer
	66	53	Indian	M	Cleaner
	67	52	Fijian	M	Cleaner
	68	32	Indian	M	Electrician
	69	26	Fijian	F	Electrician
	70	51	Indian	M	Labourer
	71	23	Fijian	M	Electrician
	72	31	Fijian	M	Technician
	73	31	Indian	M	Technical Officer
	74	48	Fijian	M	Electrical Mechanical Supervisor
	75	49	Fijian	M	Fireman
	76	48	Fijian	M	Fireman

77	30	Fijian	M	Fireman
78	39	Fijian	M	Electrical Technician
79	39	Indian	M	Security Officer
80	45	Fijian	M	Airport Manager
81	49	Fijian	M	Clerical Officer
82	43	Fijian	M	Machine Operator
83	35	Fijian	M	Maintenance Worker
84	50	Indian	M	Communication Officer
85	34	Fijian	F	Telephone Operator
86	48	Indian	M	Communications Supervisor
87	39	Indian	M	Communications Officer
88	40	Indian	M	Senior Accountant
89	33	Part-Chinese	F	Accounts Clerk
90	28	Indian	M	Clerical Officer
91	30	Fijian	M	Security Officer
92	43	Indian	M	Security Officer
93	26	Fijian	M	Security Officer
94	35	Indian	M	Security Officer
95	31	Fijian	M	Security Officer
96	31	Indian	M	Security Officer
97	30	Fijian	M	Security Officer
98	35	Fijian	F	Terminal Attendant
99	24	Fijian	M	Assistant Draftsman
100	33	Fijian	F	Cleaner
101	41	Fijian	M	Air Traffic Controller
102	..	Rotuman	M	Air Traffic Controller
103	39	Fijian	M	Senior Air Traffic Controller
104	23	Fijian	F	Security Officer
105	44	Fijian	M	Clerical Officer
106	45	Indian	M	Driver
107	48	Indian	M	Driver
108	40	Fijian	F	Telephone Operator
109	40	Indian	M	Communications Officer
DCAT 110	38	Fijian	M	Driver
111	49	Fijian	M	Administrative Officer
112	40	Tongan	F	Personal Secretary
113	39	Indian	F	Assistant Accounts Officer
114	26	Fijian	M	Tourism Officer
115	24	Fijian	M	Tourism Officer
116	35	Fijian	M	Graduatet Trainee

117	30	Fijian	F	Senior Clerk
118	29	Fijian	F	Research Supervisor
119	29	Fijian	F	Researcher
120	37	Fijian	M	Graduate Trainee
121	39	Indian	M	Driver
122	24	Fijian	F	Clerical Officer
123	25	Fijian	M	Administrative Officer
124	47	Fijian	M	Chief Administrative Officer
125	24	Fijian	M	Clerical Officer
126	31	Fijian	F	Typist
127	41	Indian	M	Driver
128	20	Indian	M	Clerical Officer
129	40	Fijian	M	Tourism Officer
130	50	Fijian	M	Permanent Secretary
131	20	Indian	F	Researcher

Note: .. not available

Respondents who did not reveal their age in the employee survey questionnaire clarified this during informal discussions.

References

- Adams, S. J., 1963. 'Wage Inequities, Productivity, and Work Quality', *Industrial Relations*, 3:422-436.
- Ahmad, M., 1980. *Report on factors which hinder or help productivity measurement in Pakistan*, Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization.
- Ai, Y. H., 1990. 'Capital transformation and labour relations in Malaysia', *Labour and Industry*, 3(1): 76-92.
- Air Terminal Services Limited, 1992. *Annual Report 1992-1993*, Fiji: Air Terminal Services.
- Air Terminal Services Limited, 1993. *Annual Report 1993-1994*, Fiji: Air Terminal Services.
- Air Terminal Services Limited, 1994. *Annual Report 1994-1995*, Fiji: Air Terminal Services.
- Akhilesh, K. B. and Mathew, M., 1991. 'A study of bank jobs in relation to work motivation, job and work involvement', *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(3): 244-261.
- Alderfer, C. P., 1972. *Existence, Relatedness and Growth*, New York: The Free Press.
- Allport, G. W., 1937. *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, New York: Holt-Rinehart.
- Allport, G. W., 1960. 'The open system in personality theory', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 61:301-311.
- Applebaum, H., 1984. 'Theoretical Introduction: work in market and industrial society', in H. Applebaum (ed.), *Work in Market and Industrial Societies*, Albany: State University of New York Press: 1-32.
- Applebaum, H., (ed.), 1984a. *Work in Market and Industrial Societies*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Applebaum, H., (ed.), 1984b. *Work in Non-Market and Transitional Societies*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Argyle, M., 1972. *The Social Psychology of Work*, London: Penguin.
- Argyris, C., 1957. *Personality and Organisation*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Argyris, C., 1964. *Integrating the Organization and the Individual*, New York: Wiley.

- Armstrong, M., 1977. *A Handbook of Personnel Management Practice*, London: Kogan Page Ltd.
- Ashton, T. S., 1948. *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Asian Development Bank, 1995. *Outlook Report for 1995-1996*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Asian Development Bank, 1996. *Sociocultural Issues and Economic Development in the Pacific Islands*, Pacific Studies Series, Manila, Philippines: Asian Development Bank.
- Aungles, S. B. and Parker, S. R., 1988. *Work, Organisations and Change: themes and perspectives in Australia*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- AusAID, 1995. *The Economy of Fiji: supporting private investment*, International Development Issues, No. 40, Canberra: Australian Agency for International Development.
- Bain, 'A., 1988. 'A Protective Labour Policy? An alternative interpretation of early colonial labour policy in Fiji', *Journal of Pacific History*, 23(2):119-136.
- Bain, 'A., 1990. 'Class, Communalism and the 1947 Fiji Mineworkers Strike', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of Northern Queensland: 232-237.
- Bakke, W. W., 1940. *Citizens Without Work*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ballard, J. A., 1976. *Wantoks and Administration*, Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea.
- Bamber, G. J., 1977. 'Fashions at work in the west: reflections on job enrichment', *Management in Papua New Guinea*, 3(2):1-7.
- Bar-Haim, A., 1988. 'Workers' participation and personnel policies in Israel', *International Labour Review*, 127(3):381-397.
- Beale, K., 1987. 'Productivity-Sharing the Costs and Benefits', in H. M. Boot (ed.), *New developments in public sector management*, Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on Public Sector Productivity, 23-24 July, Canberra, Australia: The Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University: 45-50.
- Bennis, W. G. and Slater, P. E., 1968. *The Temporary Society*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Bequele, A. and Freedman, D. H., 1979. 'Employment and basic needs: an overview', *International Labour Review*, 118(3):315-330.

- Bernardo, R. M., 1977. *Popular management and pay in China: automating non-financial motivation through organization improvement*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Beynon, H. and Blackburn, R. M., 1972. *Perceptions of Work: variations within a Factory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhatia, S. K., 1985. 'Job motivation of executives: an empirical study', *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 20(3):319-332.
- Blackburn, R. M. and Mann, R., 1979. *The Working Class in the Labour Market*, London: Macmillan.
- Blain, N. and Plowman, D., 1987. 'The Australian Industrial Relations Literature, 1970-1986', *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 29(3):295-320.
- Blauner, R., 1964. *Alienation and Freedom*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blunt, P. and Jones, M., 1986. 'Managerial motivation in Kenya and Malawi: a cross-cultural comparison', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 24(1):165-175.
- Blunt, P., 1973. 'Cultural and Situational Determinants of Job Satisfaction amongst Management in South Africa', *Journal of Management Studies*, 10(2):133-140.
- Boot, H. M., (ed.), 1987. *New developments in public sector management*, Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on Public Sector Productivity, 23-24 July, Canberra, Australia: The Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University.
- Bowditch, J. L. and Buono, A. F., 1985. *A Primer on Organizational Behaviour*, New York: Wiley.
- Boxall, P. F. and Dowling, P. J., 1990. 'Human Resource Management and the Industrial Relations Tradition', *Labour and Industry*, 3(2 and 3):195-214.
- Bozeman, B., (ed.), 1993. *Public Management: The State of the Art*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Braverman, H., 1974. 'Labor and Monopoly Capital: the degradation of work in the twentieth century', *Monthly Review Press*:85-123.
- Brehm, J. W., 1966. *A Theory of Psychological Reactance*, New York: Academic Press.
- Brennan, H. G. and Waterman, A. M. C., (eds), 1994. *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Brennan, H. G. and Waterman, A. M. C., 1994. 'Summary if not Conclusions', in H. G. Brennan and A. M. C. Waterman (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 249-257.

- Brewer, A. M., 1994. *The Responsive Employee: the road toward organisational citizenship in the workplace*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Brookfield, H. C., 1972. *Colonialism, Development and Independence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brookfield, H., (ed.), 1973. *The Pacific in Transition*, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Browne, C. and Scott, D.A., 1989. *Economic Development in Seven Pacific Island Countries*, Washington: International Monetary Fund.
- Buchanan, D.A. and Huczynski, A.A., 1985. *Organisational Behaviour: an introductory text*, London: Prentice Hall.
- Buchele, R., and Christiansen, J., 1992. 'Industrial relations and productivity growth: a comparative perspective', *International Contributions to Labour Studies*, 2:77-97.
- Burns, T., (ed.), 1969. *Industrial Man: Selected Readings*, England: Penguin.
- Callus, R., 1991. 'The making of the Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey', *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 33(4):450-467.
- Chand, A., 1988. Worker Democracy in Fiji: the case study of Air Terminal Services (Fiji) Ltd, (Unpublished) MA thesis, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji
- Chandra, R., 1996a. 'Urbanisation in Fiji, 1976-1986: A preliminary analysis, *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 19:23-45.
- Chandra, R. 1996b. 'Manufacturing in Fiji: mixed results', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 11(1):47-62.
- Chandy, K. T., 1980. *Report on factors which hinder or help productivity improvement in the Indian economy*, Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization.
- Cherrington, D. J., 1989. *Organization Behaviour: the management of individual and organizational performance*, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.
- Chodak, S., 1973. *Societal Development*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chong-Yah, L., (ed.), 1982. *Learning from the Japanese Experience*, Singapore: Applied Research Corporation.
- Chung, C. H., Shepard, J. M. and Dollinger, M. J., 1988. 'Max Weber Revisited: some lessons from East Asian capitalistic development', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 6(2):307-321.
- Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji, 1991. *Annual Report 1990-1991*, Fiji: Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji.

- Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji, 1992. *Annual Report 1991-1992*, Fiji: Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji.
- Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji, 1993. *Annual Report 1992-1993*, Fiji: Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji.
- Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji, 1994. *Annual Report 1993-1994*, Fiji: Civil Aviation Authority of Fiji.
- Claeys, G., (ed.), 1991. *Robert Owen: A new view of society and other writings*, New York: Penguin.
- Claeys, G., 1993. *Selected works of Robert Owen, 1771-1858*, London: Pickering.
- Clarke, A. W. and McCabe, S., 1966. 'The Motivation and Satisfaction of Australian managers', *Personnel Psychology*, 2:625-638.
- Cole, R. and Hughes, H., 1988. *The Fiji Economy, May 1987: problems and prospects*, Pacific Policy Papers No.4, Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, C., 1975. 'Research on an African Mode of Production', *Critique of Anthropology*, 1(4-5):38-71.
- Dakuvula, J., 1992. 'Chiefs and Commoners: the indigenous dilemma', in D. Robie (ed.), *Tu Galala. Social Change in the Pacific*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Limited: 70-79.
- Danandjaja, A. A., 1987. 'Managerial Values in Indonesia', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 5(1):1-7.
- Denoon, D., 1983. *Settler Capitalism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dow, S. C., 1994. 'The Religious Content of Economics', in H.G. Brennan and A.M.C. Waterman (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers:193-204.
- Drucker, P. F., 1974. *Management: tasks, responsibilities, practices*, London: Heinemann.
- Dubin, R., 1962. 'Industrial workers' worlds: a study of the central life interests of industrial workers' in Rose, A. M., (ed.), *Human Behaviour and Social Processes*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul: 247-266.
- Durkheim, E., 1933. *The Division of Labour in Society*, Illinois: Free Press.
- Economic Development Institute and the Institute of Social and Administrative Studies, 1993. *Making Government more effective: Public Sector Reform in the South Pacific*, Report on a Seminar for Government Ministers with their Permanent

- Secretaries, 9-12 March, Suva, Fiji: Institute of Social and Administrative Studies.
- Eddy, W. B., 1981. *Public Organization Behaviour and Development*, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers.
- Eliassen, K. A. and Kooiman, J., (eds), 1993. *Managing public organisations. Lessons from contemporary European experience*, London: Sage.
- Epstein, A. L., 1992. *In the midst of life: affect and ideation in the world of the Tolai*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Esland, G., 1980. 'Professions and professionalism', in G. Esland and G. Salaman (eds), *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 213-250.
- Esland, G. and Salaman, G., (eds), 1980. *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Evans, M. G., 1986. 'Organizational Behaviour: the central role of motivation', *Journal of Management*, 12(2):203-222.
- Evans, W. A., Sculli, D. and Yau, W. S. L., 1987. 'Cross-cultural factors in the identification of managerial potential', *Journal of General Management*, 13:52-59.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 1940. *The Nuer: a description of the modes of livelihood and the political institutions of a Nilotic people*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fahey, S., 1987. 'Development, Labour Relations and Gender in Papua New Guinea', in M. Pinches and S. Lakha (eds), *Wage Labour and Social Change: the proletariat in Asia and the Pacific*, Melbourne: Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University: 45-66.
- Feldman, A.S. and Moore, W.E., 1962. 'Industrialisation and industrialism: convergence and differentiation', *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, Volume 2*.
- Fernandez, M. V., 1977. 'Management of change: capitalism in Papua New Guinea', *Management in Papua New Guinea*, 3(2):8-15.
- Fiji, Department for Women and Culture, 1994. *Women of Fiji: a statistical gender profile*, Suva, Fiji: Department of Women and Culture.
- Fiji, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 1994. *Budget 1995*. Hon. Berenado Vunibobo, Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.
- Fiji, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 1994. *Supplement to the 1995 Budget Address*, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.

- Fiji, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1991. *Review of Performance and Prospects: Fiji economy*, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.
- Fiji, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992. *Public Enterprise Sector Reform. Supplement to the 1993 Budget Address*, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.
- Fiji, Ministry of Labour and Industrial Relations, 1995. *Fiji Round Table Conference on Productivity*, Reference papers, 24-26 August, Suva, Fiji.
- Fiji, Ministry of National Planning, 1993. *Opportunities For Growth. Policies and Strategies for Fiji in the medium term*, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.
- Fiji, Public Service Commission, 1993. *General Orders: 1993 edition*, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.
- Finney, B. R., 1967. 'Money work, fast money and prize money: aspects of Tahitian labour commitment', *Human Organisation*, 26:195-199.
- Finney, B. R., 1970. '“Partnership” in developing the New Guinea highlands, 1948-1968', *Journal of Pacific History*, 5:117-134.
- Finney, B. R., 1973. *Big-Men and Business: entrepreneurship and economic growth in the New Guinea highlands*, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Fisk, E. K., 1970. *The Political Economy of Independent Fiji*, Canberra: The Australian National University Press.
- Forsyth, D. J. C., 1996. 'Fiji's economy at the crossroads', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 11(1):1-30.
- Forsyth, P. J., 1987. 'Productivity Measurement in the Public Sector', in H. M. Boot (ed.), *New developments in public sector management*, Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on Public Sector Productivity, 23-24 July, Canberra, Australia: The Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University:72-83.
- Fox, A., 1974. *Beyond contract: work, power and trust relations*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Fox, A., 1980. 'The meaning of work', in G. Esland and G. Salaman (eds), *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 139-191.
- France, P., 1968. 'The founding of an orthodoxy; Sir Arthur Gordon and the doctrine of the Fijian way of life', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 77:6-32.
- Frazer, R., 1973. 'The Fijian village and the independent farmer', in H. Brookfield (ed.), *The Pacific in Transition*, Canberra: Australian National University Press: 75-96.

- Friedmann, E. A. and Havighurst, R. J., 1954. *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fukuda, J. K., 1986. 'What can we really learn from Japanese Management?', *Journal of General Management*, 3:16-26.
- Gardner, M., 1991. 'The Workplace and the New Institutionalism: industrial relations at work', *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 33(4):468-482.
- Giacolone, R. A. and Beard, J. W., 1994. 'Impression Management, Diversity, and International Management', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 37(5):621-636.
- Gillion, K. L., 1962. *Fiji's Indian Migrants: a history to the end of indenture in 1920*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Goldthorpe, J. H., 1964. 'Social stratification in industrial society', *Sociological Review*, Monograph No. 8.
- Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechofer, F. and Platt, J., 1968. *The Affluent Worker: industrial attitudes and behaviour*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, B., 1994. 'Theological Positions and Economic Perspectives in Ancient Literature', in H.G. Brennan, and A. M. C. Waterman (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers:19-40.
- Harbison, F. and Myers, C. A., 1959. *Management in the Industrial World. An International Analysis*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Harcourt, G. C., 1994. 'Comment', in H. G. Brennan and A. M. C. Waterman (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 205-212.
- Headland, T. N., Pike, K. P. and Harris, M., (eds), 1990. *Emics and etics: the insider/outsider debate*, California: Sage.
- Heckscher, C. C. and Donnellon, A., (eds), 1994. *The Post-bureaucratic organisation: new perspectives on organizational change*, California: Sage.
- Herzberg, F., 1966. *Work and the nature of Man*, Cleveland: World Publishing.
- Herzberg, F., Mausner, B. and Snyderman, B. B., 1959. *The Motivation to Work*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Hess, M., 1986. 'How the Foreign Devils Got it Wrong: understanding industrial relations in less developed countries', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 28(2):225-236.
- Hess, M., 1990a. 'Controlling a workforce: the development of industrial labour in Papua New Guinea', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the*

- South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of Northern Queensland: 216-225.
- Hess, M., 1990b. *Industrial Relations and "Developing Economies"*, Discussion Paper 18, Perth: Department of Industrial Relations, University of Western Australia.
- Hess, M., 1992. *Unions under Economic Development: private sector unions in Papua New Guinea*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Hess, M., 1994. *Development administration and human resource management*. Economics Division Working Papers, Development Issues. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies.
- Heyne, P., 1994. 'Review of the Evidence', in H. G. Brennan and A.M.C. Waterman, (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 213-225.
- Hirszowicz, M., 1981. *Industrial Sociology: an introduction*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Hoebel, E. A., 1960. *The Cheyennes Indians of the Great Plains*, New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Hofstede, G., 1980. *Culture's Consequences: international differences in work related values*, California: Sage
- Hofstede, G., 1985. 'The Interaction between National and Organizational Value Systems', *Journal of Management Studies*, 22(4):345-357.
- Howell, P., Strauss, J., and Sorenson, P. F., 1975. 'Cultural and Situational Determinants of Job Satisfaction among Management in Liberia', *Journal of Management Studies*, 12(2):225-227.
- Huo, Y. P. and Steers, R. M., 1993. 'Cultural Influences on the design of Incentive Systems: The Case of East Asia', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 10(1):71-85.
- International Labour Organisation, 1994. *Tripartite Seminar on "Industrial relations in Fiji"*, 24-25 May, Suva, Fiji.
- Jalan, B., (ed.), 1982. *Problems and Policies in Small Economies*, London: Croom and Helm.
- Kalleberg, A. L. and Moody, J. W., 1994. 'Human Resource Management and Organizational Performance', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 37(7):948-962.
- Kanawaty, G., (ed.), 1981. *Managing and developing new forms of work organisation*, Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

- Kanawaty, G. and Thorsud, E., with contributions from Semiono, J. P. and Singh, J., 1981. 'Field experiences with new forms of work organisation', *International Labour Review*, 120(3): 263-277.
- Kasper, W., Bennett, J. and Blandy, R., 1988. *Fiji. Opportunity from Adversity?*, New South Wales: The Centre for Independent Studies.
- Keith-Reid, R., 1989. 'The new Fijian takes charge', *Islands Business*, 15(2):8-17.
- Kelly, H.H., 1973. 'The Process of Causal Attribution', *American Psychologist*:107-128.
- Kerr, C., Dunlop, J. T., Harbison, F. H. and Myers, C. A., 1960. *Industrialism and Industrial Man*, Massachusetts:Harvard University Press.
- Kerr, C., Dunlop, J. T., Harbison, F. H. and Myers, C. A., 1973. *Industrialism and Industrial Man*, London: Penguin.
- Khandwalla, P. N. and Jain, G. R., 1984. 'Organizational goals and lower management job satisfaction', *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 20(2):111-136.
- Kirkbride, P. S. and Chaw, S. W., 1987. 'The cross-cultural transfer of organisational cultures: two case studies of corporate mission statements', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 5(1):55-66.
- Knapman, B., 1985. 'Capitalism's impact in colonial Fiji, 1874-1939: development or underdevelopment?', *Journal of Pacific History*, 20:66-83.
- Knapman, B., 1987. *Fiji's economic history 1874-1939: studies of capitalist colonial development*, Pacific Research Monograph 15. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University.
- Knoke, D., 1994. 'Cui Bono? Employee Benefit Packages', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 37(7):963-978.
- Kornhauser, A., Dubin, R. and Ross, A., (eds), 1954. *Industrial Conflict*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Laflamme, G., Belanger, L. and Audet, M., 1987. 'Workers' participation and personnel policies in Canada:some hopeful signs', *International Labour Review*, 126(2):219-228.
- Lal, B. V., 1986. 'Murmurs of Dissent: non-resistance on Fiji plantations', *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 20:18-214.
- Lal, B. V., Munro, D. and Beechert, E. D., (eds), 1993. *Plantation Workers: resistance and accommodation*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Landsberger, H. A., 1958. *Hawthorne Revisited*, New York: Cornell University.

- Lansbury, R., 1990. 'The Changing Nature of Labour-Management Relations in the Asia and Pacific Region', *Labour and Industry*, 3(1):146-150.
- Lasaqa, I., 1973. 'Geography and geographers in the changing Pacific. An Islander's view', in H. Brookfield (ed.), *The Pacific in Transition*, Canberra: Australian National University Press: 299-311.
- Lasaqa, I., 1981. *The Fijian People: before and after Independence*, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Latukeyu, S., 1988. 'Noble traditions and Christian principles as national ideology in Papua New Guinea: do their philosophies complement or contradict each other?', *Pacific Studies*, 11(2):83-96.
- Lawson, S., 1996. *Tradition versus Democracy in the South Pacific*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leckie, J., 1987. 'Introduction: women and work in the South Pacific', *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 13:1-9.
- Leckie, J., 1990a. 'Workers in colonial Fiji: 1870-1970', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of North Queensland:47-66.
- Leckie, J., 1990b. 'From Localisation to Politicisation: the Fiji Public Service Association', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of North Queensland:238-243.
- Leckie, J., 1993. 'Trade union rights, legitimacy and politics under Fiji's post-coup interim Administration', *Pacific Studies*, 16(3):87-113.
- Leckie, J., 1997. *To Labour with the State: the Fiji Public Service Association*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press.
- Leckie, J. and Munro, D., 1990. 'Introduction' in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of Northern Queensland: xiii-li.
- Locke, E. A., 1968. 'Towards a theory of task motivation and incentives', *Organizational Behaviour and Human Performance*, 3:157-189.
- Luthans, F., 1981. *Organizational Behaviour*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Malinowski, B., 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London: Routledge.
- Maslow, A., 1954. *Motivation and Personality*, New York, Harper.

- Maslow, A., 1968. *Toward a psychology of being*, New Jersey, Van Nostrand.
- Marx, K., 1930. *Capital*, London: Everyman.
- Marx, K., 1962. *Capital* Vol 3, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- McClelland, D. C., 1961. *The Achieving Society*, Princeton: Van Nostrand
- McClelland, D. C. and Winter, D. G., 1969. *Motivating Economic Achievement*, New York: Free Press.
- McGaurr, D., 1987. 'Administrative reform: reactions and comments', in H. M. Boot (ed.), *New developments in public sector management*, Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on Public Sector Productivity, 23-24 July, Canberra, Australia: The Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University:7-12.
- McMaster, J., 1990. *Scope for Accelerating Private Sector Growth in the Pacific Islands through the Implementation of Privatization Policies*, Hawaii: Pacific Islands Development Program, East-West Center.
- Meillassoux, C., 1972. 'From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology', *Economy and Society*, 1(1):93-105.
- Metcalf, L. and Richards, S., 1993. 'Evolving public management cultures', in K. A. Eliassen and J. Kooiman (eds), *Managing Public Organisations. Lessons from contemporary European experience*, London: Sage: 106-124.
- Mitchell, T. R., 1982. 'Motivation: New Directions for Theory, Research and Practice', *Academy of Management Review*, 17(1):80-88.
- Moore, C., 1990. 'Workers in colonial Papua New Guinea: 1884-1975', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of Northern Queensland: 30-46.
- Moore, C., Leckie, J. and Munro, D., (eds), 1990. *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of North Queensland.
- Morehead, A., Steele, M., Alexander, M., Stephen, K. and Duffin, K., 1997. *Changes at Work: The 1995 Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey*, Australia: Longman.
- Moser, C. A. and Kalton, G., 1971. *Survey methods in social investigation*, London, Heinemann.
- Mullins, L. J., 1989. *Management and organisational behaviour*, London: Pitman.

- Munro, D., 1993. 'Patterns of Accommodation and Resistance', in B. V. Lal, D. Munro and E. D. Beechert (eds), *Plantation Workers: resistance and accommodation*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: 1-43.
- Munro, D. and Firth, S., 1990. 'Company strategies-Colonial policies', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of Northern Queensland: 3-29.
- Naidu, V., 1980. *The Violence of Indenture in Fiji*, Fiji Monograph Series No. 3, Suva, Fiji: World University Service in association with the School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific.
- Naidu, V. and Leckie, J., 1990. 'The development of class analysis in the South Pacific', in C. Moore, J. Leckie and D. Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville: Department of History and Politics, and Melanesian Studies Centre, James Cook University of Northern Queensland: 244-255.
- Nelson, R. H., 1994. 'Economics as Religion', in H. G. Brennan and A. M. C. Waterman, (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 227-236.
- Nichols, T., 1980. 'Management, ideology and practice', in G. Esland and G. Salaman (eds), *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 279-302.
- Norton, R., 1977. *Race and Politics in Fiji*, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Ojuka Oneda, A. E., 1991. 'The Motivation and Need Satisfaction of PNG Managers', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 8(1):121-129.
- Olmsted, B., 1979. 'Job sharing: an emerging work-style', *International Labour Review*, 118(3):283-298.
- Perno, E. M., 1976. 'Motivation to work in Papua New Guinea', *Management in Papua New Guinea*, 2(3):16-26.
- Peters, B. G., 1978. *The Politics of Bureaucracy. A Comparative Perspective*, New York: Longman.
- Pinches, M. and Lakha, S., (eds), 1987. *Wage Labour and Social Change: the proletariat in Asia and the Pacific*, Melbourne: Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Pinches, M. and Lakha, S., 1987. 'Introduction', in M. Pinches and S. Lakha (eds), *Wage Labour and Social Change: the proletariat in Asia and the Pacific*, Melbourne: Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University: 1-29.

- Plange, N., 1985. 'Colonial Capitalism and Class Formation in Fiji: a retrospective overview', *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 11:91-116.
- Plowman, D. H., 1991. 'Industrial Relations at Work: a survey of the survey', *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 33(4):437-449.
- Pollock, N. J., 1979. 'Work, Wages and Shifting Cultivation on Niue', *Pacific Studies*, 2(2):132-143.
- Porter, L. W. and Lawler, E. E., 1968. *Managerial Attitudes and Performance*, Illinois: Irwin.
- Prasad, S., 1995. *Labour-management consultation and cooperation in Fiji: case studies at the national and sectoral level: Air Terminal Services and the Fiji Sugar Corporation*, Working paper No 22, Suva, Fiji: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific.
- Ravuvu, A., 1987. *The Fijian Ethos*, Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Rey, P. P., 1975. 'The Lineage Mode of Production', *Critique of Anthropology*, 1(3):27-70.
- Rinehart, J. W., 1975. *The Tyranny of Work*, Canada: Longman.
- Robson, P., 1987. 'Productivity and the Public Sector', in H. M. Boot (ed.), *New developments in public sector management*, Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on public sector productivity, 23-24 July, Canberra, Australia: The Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University:38-44.
- Rosenfeld, P., Giacalone, R. A. and Riordan, C. A. 1994. 'Impression Management Theory and Diversity: Lessons for Organizational Behaviour', *American Behavioural Scientist* 37(5):601-604.
- Rostow, W. W., 1960. *The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Routledge, D., 1985. *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in early Fiji*, Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Runglertkengkrai, S. and Engkaninan, S., 1986. 'The Motivation and Need Satisfaction of the Thai Managerial Elite', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 3(3):194-197.
- Sahlins, M. D., 1962. *Moala: Culture and Nature on a Fijian Island*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Salaman, G., 1980. 'The sociology of work: some themes and issues', in G. Esland and G. Salaman (eds), *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 1-41.

- Salancik, G. R. and Pfeffer, J., 1977. 'An Examination of Need-Satisfaction Models of Job Attitudes', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 22:427-456.
- Sanford, A. C., 1973. *Human Relations Theory and Practice*, Ohio: Bell and Howell Company.
- Saunders, K. E., 1979. 'Troublesome servants: the strategies of resistance employed by Melanesian labourers on plantations in colonial Queensland', *Journal of Pacific History*, 14(3):168-183.
- Scarr, D., 1967. 'Recruits and recruiters: a portrait of the Pacific Islands labour trade', *Journal of Pacific History*, 2:5-24.
- Schein, E. H., 1980. *Organizational Psychology*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Schoeffel, P. and Kikau, E., 1980. 'Women's work in Fiji: an historical perspective', *Review*, 1(2):21-26.
- Selwyn, P., (ed.), 1985. *Development Policy in Small Countries*, London: Croom Helm.
- Shameem, S., 1987. 'Gender, Class and Race Dynamics: Indian women in sugar production in Fiji', *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 13:10-35.
- Shand, R.T., (ed.), 1980. *The Island States of the Pacific and Indian Oceans: Anatomy of Development*, Monograph No. 23, Canberra: Development Studies Centre, Australian National University.
- Sharma, B. R. and Bhasker, S., 1991. 'Motivation of public sector managers: A comparative study', *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(4):319-340.
- Sievers, B., 1994. *Work, Death, and Life Itself*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Singh, M. and Pestonjee, D. M., 1990. 'Job involvement, sense of participation and job satisfaction: A study in banking industry', *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(2):159-165.
- Slatter, C., 1987. 'Women factory workers in Fiji: the 'half a loaf' syndrome', *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 13:47-59.
- Slotkin, J. S., 1960. *From Field to Factory: New Industrial Employees*, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Smelser, N. J., 1968. *Essays in Sociological Explanation*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Smith, R. F. I., 1987. 'Public Sector Productivity-Contexts and Strategies', in H. M. Boot (ed.), *New developments in public sector management*, Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on public sector productivity, 23-24 July, Canberra, Australia: The Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University: 22-37.

- Spate, O. H. K., 1959. *The Fijian people*, Legislative Council of Fiji, Paper No 13 of 1959, Suva, Fiji.
- Spate, O. H. K., 1990. 'Notes and Documents.Thirty Years Ago: A view of the Fijian political scene. Confidential Report to the British Colonial Office, September 1959', *Journal of Pacific History*, 25(1):103-124.
- Standing, G., 1992. 'Identifying the "human resource enterprise": A South-east Asian example', *International Labour Review*, 131(3):281-295.
- Steers, R. M.and Porter, L. W., 1983. *Motivation and Work Behaviour*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Stevenson, M., 1987. 'Wage Labour and Intercultural Relations', in M. Pinches and S. Lakha (eds), *Wage Labour and Social Change. The Proletariat in Asia and the Pacific*, Melbourne: Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University: 31-43.
- Stone, R.J., 1995. *Human Resource Management*, Australia: Jacaranda Wiley.
- Strand, T., 1993. 'Bureaucrats and other managers: roles in transition', in K. A. Eliassen and J. Kooiman (eds), *Managing Public Organisations: lessons from contemporary European experience*, London: Sage: 157-173.
- Sturton, M., 1989. *Modelling the Fiji Economy*, Hawaii: Pacific Islands Development Program, East-West Center.
- Taylor, F. W., 1911. *The principles of scientific management*, New York: Harper.
- Taylor, M., (ed.), 1987. *Fiji. Future Imperfect?*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Thompson, A. G., 1988. 'Cross-cultural management of labour in a Thai environment', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 16(2):323-338.
- Thompson, E. P., 1967. 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38:56-97.
- Thornley, A., 1979. *Fijian Methodism 1874-1945: the emergence of a national church*, Phd thesis, Australian National University.
- Throsby, C. D., (ed.), 1987. *Human Resources Development in the Pacific*, Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University.
- Turner, B. A., 1971. *Exploring the Industrial Subculture*, London: Macmillan.
- Turner, M. and Hulme, D., 1997. *Governance, Administration and Development: making the State work*, London: Macmillan.
- Umstot, D. D., 1984. *Understanding Organizational Behaviour*, Minnesota: West Publishing Company.

- United Nations Development Programme, 1997. *Human Development Report 1997*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Utrecht, E., (ed.), 1984. *Fiji: Client State of Australasia?*, Sydney: Transnational Corporations Research Project, University of Sydney.
- Vaid, K. N., 1968. *The New Worker. A Study at Kota*, New Delhi: Asia Publishing House.
- Vaughn, K. I., 1994. 'The Impossibility of a Theologically Sensitive Economics', in H. G. Brennan and A. M. C. Waterman (eds), *Economics and Religion: are they distinct?*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 237-248.
- Villeval, M., 1992. 'The workforce reconversion in the crisis of fordism: element of break-up or element of transition?', *International Contributions to Labour Studies*, 2:61-75.
- Vroom, V. H., 1964. *Work and Motivation*, New York: Wiley.
- Wahba, M. A. and Bridwell, L. G., 1976. 'Maslow Reconsidered: A Review of the Research on the Need Hierarchy Theory', *Organizational Behaviour and Human Performance*, 15:212-240.
- Wallerstein, I. M., 1974. *The modern world-system*, New York: Academic Press.
- Ward, M., 1970. *The Role of Investment in the Development of Fiji*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ward, R. G., 1987. 'Native Fijian villages: A questionable future?', in M. Taylor (ed.), *Fiji. Future imperfect?*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin: 33-45.
- Ward, R. G., 1990.
- Watters, R., 1987. 'Mirab Societies and Bureaucratic Elites', in A. Hooper, S. Britton, R. Crocombe, J. Huntsman and C. Macpherson (eds), *Class and Culture in the South Pacific*, Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, and Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific: 32-54.
- Weber, M., 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Willmott, H., 1993. 'Strength is ignorance;slavery is freedom: managing culture in modern organizations', *Journal of Management Studies*, 30(4):515-552.
- World Bank, 1987. *World Development Report*, London: Oxford University Press.
- World Bank, 1991. *Fiji: Incentive Policies for Growth*, Washington: World Bank.

- Yntema, P., 1993. 'Managing human resources in the public sector', in K. A. Eliassen and J. Kooiman, (eds), *Managing Public Organisations. Lessons from contemporary European experience*, London: Sage: 186-203.
- Young, J. A., 1992. 'Social Protest and Spontaneous Development: A contemporary social movement in Fiji', *Pacific Studies*, 15(3):77-114.